EMPIRE AND TEHERAN

By R. PALME DUTT

JUNE 6
1944

NEW MASSES

15¢
In Canada
20¢

WHAT THE COMMUNISTS DID

PAGES FROM A CONVENTION NOTEBOOK

by JOSEPH NORTH

APPEAL TO LATIN AMERICA

by EARL BROWDER

MEET THE DELEGATES

Sketches by WILLIAM GROPPER

ALSO IN THIS ISSUE: *The Negro Soldier*, by Virginia Gardner; *India's New Anti-Fascist Culture*, by Samuel Langhorne Chase and A. S. R. Chari; *No Time for Ivory Towers*, by David Porter.

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BETWEEN OURSELVES

WE OF NEW MASSES are not a little proud of the fact that our editor, Joe North, was elected an alternate member of the national committee of the newly organized Communist Political Association. It's a tribute to Joe and to the magazine, and frankly we think both deserve it. Joe, whose vivid account of the historic Communist convention appears in this issue, was a delegate to the convention.

This is not the first Communist convention Joe North has covered for NM. Veteran readers will recall his piece in the monthly New Masses on the 1932 nominating convention of the Communist Party during the Hoover hunger-march era. In fact, that was one of the early pieces that caused readers to sit up and take notice of this quiet young man from Chester, Pa., who had worked in the shipyards of his home town and got his start on the local paper. Readers came to know Joe North in the next few years as one of America's outstanding reporters and editors. Since he's the editor of this magazine that may sound like boasting. But we can't change the truth.

It's fifteen years since Joe North came into the labor and progressive movement. Before helping to found the weekly NM ten years ago he was for several years associated with the International Labor Defense, editing its magazine, the *Labor Defender*. As a writing editor of NM he has ranged all over the lot, interviewing pro-fascists like ex-Gov. Eugene Talmadge of Georgia, covering great labor struggles like the strike that brought unionism to the Ford plant, reporting the deep-going changes in the new South, following the Abraham Lincoln boys to Spain where he interviewed Premier Negrin and covered the Spanish war for us for a year and a half, hopping into Mexico for the campaign that elected President Avila Camacho. And through most of these past ten years he has been the guiding mind and moving spirit behind this magazine—much more than writer and editor: a man with the vision of the future in his blood.

Another NM writer, Meridel Le Sueur of Minnesota, distinguished as a short story writer, was also elected an alternate to the Communist national committee. Our congratulations to Miss Le Sueur, and we'll have more to say about her in our next issue.

WE WANT to end that financial drive of ours. It has lasted longer than is good for the magazine, financially or editorially. Our goal is $40,000, but our immediate objective is $28,000, the minimum required to cover our deficit and enable us to survive. Last week only about $300 came in, bringing the total to $22,575. Can we raise the other $5,425 before the end of the month? Our creditors say we must. You and your friends are the only ones who can give the answer. Sit down and write that check or mail that bill now. Call up five friends and get them to do likewise. When $28,000 is reached, we expect to be able to raise the remaining $12,000 needed to promote and improve NM during the rest of the year without recourse to public appeals.

FROM Nat Werner, well known sculptor, comes this letter to NEW MASSES:

"I want to thank you in my name, and in the names of many other sculptors for your reproduction of the very fine, sensitive portrait of Adolph Wolff, by Raphael Soyer, and the biographical note by Moses.

"We should know that, like many other people's artists, Adolph Wolff for most of his life was forced to create during his 'leisure' time, working otherwise to survive; a leisure time taken up largely by progressive political and organizational activities of the most direct kind. His political insight, born of this vast experience, not only inspired his own sculpture, but also very frequently gave direction, at critical times, to other sculptors and sculptors' organizations.

"We want to remember Adolph Wolff not only as a 'lovable and kindly person,' but also as a front-line fighter against social inequality and, until his death, against the blight of fascism. NEW MASSES should reproduce from time to time the better of Wolff's socially-conscious sculpture, to keep alive the memory of his name. Too bitter the struggle to create art in these years, too quick and painful the oblivion."

Incidentally, the art criticism by Moses Soyer, which NM has published in recent issues, has evoked much favorable comment from artists and lay readers alike.

JUDGING from our mail, there is great interest in the Art Young Memorial Awards which we announced in our second special literary number (May 16). For the benefit of those who missed the announcement we repeat the gist of it. In honor of the beloved, internationally famous artist, who at the time of his death last December was a contributing editor of NM, we are offering $100 for the best cartoon or drawing, $100 for the best short story, $100 for the best poem, $100 for the best non-fiction prose—reportage or criticism. The first award will be for the best cartoon or drawing received in this office before August 10. The winner will be announced in our next quarterly issue devoted to the arts. The judges will be Daniel Fitzpatrick of the St. Louis *Post-Dispatch*, William Gropper, Rockwell Kent, and Moses Soyer. In the special literary number following the next, the winner of the fiction award will be announced; in the one after that, the poetry winner; and in the following one, the non-fiction winner.

Entries should be addressed to Art Young Awards, c/o NEW MASSES, 104 E. 9th St., New York 3, N. Y.

A. B. M.

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ESTABLISHED 1911

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Two weeks' notice is required for change of address. Notification sent to NEW MASSES rather than to the post office will gives the best results. Vol. LI, No. 10. Published weekly by THE NEW MASSES, INC., 104 East Ninth Street, New York 3, N. Y.

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Washington Office, 945 Pennsylvania Ave., N.Y. Drawings and tet may not be reprinted without permission. Entered as second-class matter, June 23, 1926, at the Post Office at New York, N. Y., under the act of March 3, 1879. Single copies 15 cents. Subscriptions $5.00 a year in U. S. and Colonies nad Mexico. Six months $2.75; three months $1.50. Foreign, $6.00 a year; six months $3.25; three months $1.75. In Canada $6.00 a year, $3.50 for six months, U. S. money; single copies in Canada 20c Canadian money. Subscribers are notified that no change in address can be effected in less than two weeks. NEW MASSES welcomes the work of new writers and artists. Manuscripts and drawings must be accompanied by stamped, addressed envelope. NEW MASSES does not pay for contributions.

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NEW MASSES

VOL. LI JUNE 6, 1944 NO. 10

FROM A CONVENTION NOTEBOOK

By JOSEPH NORTH

Henry Forbes, you died on the Anzio Bridgehead a few weeks ago. If you were alive today I know how avidly you would be awaiting the mail in your foxhole to learn what happened at the convention of your Party a few days ago. You are dead now, Hank, and yet to us you are not dead. Nor to the ten thousand of your comrades who are in the country's service today. You will never die, Hank, never, so long as the things you died for live on: and they lived and burned bright in the convention of your comrades. How can I tell you what happened there? It would require volumes. For what happened there is the synthesis of what is happening throughout the country, throughout the world today. The convention, as you know, was no thing in itself; it was part of the world upsurge of democracy. You could hear the bells tolling for Hitler as we waited here for word that the invasion had begun.

The world issues were clear at the convention, etched luminously by the light of Marxism. You know what I mean. The convention reflected the deep-felt aspirations of America's people, Hank, of men like yourself whether Communist, Democrat, or Republican. America will come to realize that soon, I'm certain. You, Hank, a boy of the sidewalks of New York, as Manhattanese as Al Smith or Walt Whitman, would have been inspired by the proceedings as we all were; inspired by the men and women who spoke your ideas, who talked United States. Browder and Foster and Minor and Gurley Flynn and Mother Bloor and Jim Ford and Ben Davis and Pete Cacchione. Yes, and by the many new names from all over America we do not know so well as yet. Your heart would have beat proudly if you had heard that little woman from Chelsea tell how they work in the neighborhoods, in the wards and in the precincts. Down to rock bottom. You would have felt, as all of us did, that America's Marxists had come a long way, had not only studied the books but studied the people, were part of them as you were part of them, Hank.

You would not have been surprised, I know, to learn that the Communist Party was dissolved, for you were among us living when the National Committee presented its proposals several months ago. Well, the convention unanimously accepted those proposals. Yes, the Party was dissolved. Your comrades did willingly what fire and sword and prison could never do. They closed twenty-five years of their proud history in order to move on to the next and higher stage of action where they could use new forms to do the work the times demanded, and they founded the Communist Political Association. And you would have agreed completely, enthusiastically, as the delegates did here, unanimously. I know you would have cast your vote as did all the others here—more, you would have had a part in shaping the decisions, knowing you as I do. You would have seen the indubitable merit of the Association, the need to renounce all partisan advancement in this unprecedented era, for the sake of national and international harmony behind the goals of Teheran.

No, Hank, you didn't really die and though you weren't here, I saw your wife here and all your comrades who carried on in your name and in the name of the other Communists who will never come home again. My meager words cannot do justice to the convention, Hank, any more than can any writer describe fully what you did there on the Anzio beachhead. I know, Hank, if you were here you would have said, in that peculiar clipped New Yorkese of yours, "Nice going."

SATURDAY: Watching the delegates filing in, I wondered if any of the reporters seated at the press table were asking themselves a few timely questions: "So these are the Communists. Why, they look like anybody from Flatbush or Yonkers or Cleveland. Could be a cross-section of any crowd at the Stadium. Odd, I like what they're doing in every other country, why don't I like what they're doing here? After all, these are the same kinds of people who would be fighting under Tito in Yugoslavia, under de Gaulle in France, under Mao Tse Tung in China, under General Malinovsky in Russia. They're doing a damn good job everywhere else. Wonder why not here? They certainly look like a clean-cut bunch of people. Look like any other convention of Americans, perhaps somewhat more trim and younger as a whole. More Negroes here than in any other mixed convention I've ever covered. More women, too. For all I can tell, looks like a cross-section of Main Street. Probably as American as Tito's people are Yugoslav, or Malinovsky's Russian. Maybe I've been wrong?"

I wonder, too, what the representatives of the press think as they look up at the vast photograph of Roosevelt, Churchill, and Stalin seated together at Teheran, which dominates the platform and the meeting hall. How much of the symbolism will they get? And what will they think of that service flag with 9,250 stamped on it below the blue star. And the gold star above it. I wonder if any of them realize that that means something like one out of every four Communist men are in service. And what do they think when the announcement is made that despite the great numbers of Communists at the fronts, their comrades back home have just brought 24,000 new members into their organization. That's something to think over: increased their party by a third despite the great number off to the frontlines.

Young Bob Thompson comes into the hall. Bob, whom I first met in Spain, badly wounded, pale with malaria, who returned home to get going for Uncle Sam once again before he was twenty-seven. This time to the opposite side of the world, to Buna. And once again operating "above and beyond the call of duty," this young Communist taught his comrades what giving at maximum means. The Distinguished Service Cross. This is a Communist, gentlemen of the press. A pretty typical lad from Oregon. Tito's Communists are okay, but Browder's . . . ? Well, take another look at Bob Thompson. I never could get him to talk about himself and what he did at Buna. If his commanding officer hadn't told the world, I suppose it would never have got past Bob's lips. D.S.C. Distinguished Service. . . .

AND now Browder. What an ovation: it is also his birthday and the delegates arise to welcome him in a stormy, but affectionate greeting. There is something overwhelming in the love and confidence his associates show for him, this plain man from Kansas. He seems less tired than in many months, and his face lights up frequently. The rapt attention paid every word as he speaks forcibly, lucidly. . . .

He tells how the Teheran agreement is already operating, how it had begun to reap results in Yugoslavia, in France, in Italy, in Poland. "I have full confidence that the complete agreement of Teheran will be executed," he says. And why. "It

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Preamble

The following is the preamble to the new constitution of the Communist Political Association:

The Communist Political Association is a non-party organization of Americans which, basing itself upon the working class, carries forward the traditions of Washington, Jefferson, Paine, Jackson, and Lincoln, under the changed conditions of modern industrial society.

It seeks effective application of democratic principles to the solution of the problems of today, as an advanced sector of the democratic majority of the American people.

It upholds the Declaration of Independence, the United States Constitution and its Bill of Rights, and the achievements of American democracy, against all the enemies of popular liberties.

It is shaped by the needs of the nation at war, being formed in the midst of the greatest struggle of all history; it recognizes that victory for the free peoples over fascism will open up new and more favorable conditions for progress; it looks to the family of free nations, led by the great coalition of democratic capitalist and socialist states, to inaugurate an era of world peace, expanding production and economic well-being, and the liberation and equality of all peoples regardless of race, creed, or color.

It adheres to the principles of scientific socialism, Marxism, the heritage of the best thought of humanity and of a hundred years' experience of the labor movement, principles which have proved to be indispensable to the national existence and independence of every nation; it looks forward to a future in which, by democratic choice of the American people, our own country will solve the problems arising out of the contradiction between the social character of production and its private ownership, incorporating the lessons of the most fruitful achievements of all mankind in a form and manner consistent with American tradition and character.

For the advancement of these aims, the Communist Political Association establishes the basic laws of its organization in the following constitution.

is obviously essential to the national interest of each of the contracting great powers."

But he warns that the transformation of the concord into full reality will not come about automatically. "It does not relieve us of our worries and tasks. On the contrary, it demands a maximum of national and individual effort, materially and intellectually, to realize it. Teheran has many enemies to overcome in America."

Undeniable. I had heard Americans talking in my travels across the country early last fall—just before the Moscow agreements prior to the Teheran Conference: I heard them again here. This convention is America in microcosm: in sharp focus, and in essence. With this difference: the delegates are fortified by Marxist science, hence they have succeeded in capturing the gist of America's thinking, have collated its ideas, sifted its wishes and its prejudices, evaluated the plus and the minus. America is not prepared for socialism. Right? Then the solution of today's and tomorrow's problems must be found under the existing system. Teheran provides the key to that solution. Though the majority of Americans I had talked to yearned for a world accord like that achieved in the old Persian capital, still I had run into altogether too much skepticism and doubt. I had, in my journey, talked for two hours with the publisher of a large California win-the-war daily who had said wearily: "We'll stick together till the war is won. Then comes the deluge. . . ." I remember the Great Lakes sailor who said to me: "We'll play ball with the capitalists until Hitler is smashed. Then watch the fur fly." And I cannot forget the pilot with the drawn, thin face, home from the fronts, who said on the Twentieth Century Limited: "I'll tell you what I'm fighting for, mister. For number one, and don't you forget it. I'm fighting so that America will rule the world. It's dog-eat-dog since the beginning of time and it will always be that way. I want my country to be top dog." True, these were paragraphs in a minority report: they reflected the circulation of propaganda for such journals as Hearst's, of such ideas as John L. Lewis', and the pilot told me that Westbrook Pegler was his favorite writer. There is no doubt that the majority seek the way of life outlined at Teheran, but a minority in America who seek to scuttle it indubitably cast an evil spell on many essentially fine people.

To win these people to the side of the future is the aim of this convention. We need to provide them with a goal, an affirmation. This morning I glanced through Browder's new book just distributed to the delegates and I liked particularly this paragraph: "Old guide posts are fallen, or twisted to point crazily in all directions. Old maps are found no longer to correspond to the realities. The world is riding through a furious storm, and the rule-of-thumb technique of navigation helps but little if at all. Humanity must find some fixed star to guide its action."

And it will come as no surprise to any informed American that Mr. Browder saw that star rise in the firmament above Teheran. "The Conference . . ." he writes, "gives the world its needed point of orientation." That point of orientation must be accepted by the overwhelming majority of the people, consciously, actively, so that they will strengthen their Commander-in-Chief who affixed his signature to it for us, for the 140,000,000.

I WOULD like to quote, for the benefit of such Americans as those with whom I spoke and who feared the future, some excerpts of Browder's report, and perhaps they will be impelled to study the position of the Communist convention further and change their opinion:

"The policy of Teheran thus sharply defined in actual political events, may be generalized as a process of giving to Europe a unified Anglo-Soviet-American leadership to dissolve the old contradictory orientations toward one or the other of the three great powers. It is a policy of releasing the democratic people's revolution, the sweeping away of absolutism and feuday remnants, the mobilization of the united people's forces for their own liberation. It includes the postponement of final decisions on the economic and political system for each country until after liberation, when each will be free to determine its own destiny without any outside intervention whatever. It requires support to groupings and leaders within each country entirely upon the basis of their effective contribution to the war against the common enemy, and not at all upon ideological considerations or any desire to predetermine that country's postwar destiny.

"For the full effectiveness of this policy within each country, a broad coalition of all democratic forces is required, within which the recourse to armed struggle to settle disputes is abolished, and all relations are determined through free discussion, free political association, and universal suffrage. Such a democratic national coalition within each country must include all who will fight the Nazis and submit to a common discipline, under the general world alliance of the Anglo-Soviet-American alliance, without any discrimination on the basis of conflicting ideologies or past prejudices.

"Such is the policy of Teheran, the only

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road to quick and complete victory and a lasting and prosperous peace."

Space doesn't permit me to go into detail here on Browder's economic and political proposals for the country. Suffice it to say that his Association's program not only calls for maximum national and international unity, but presents specific proposals to achieve these ends—a platform that looks toward an economy of abundance, an economy that would keep the American industrial machine functioning in peacetime at top wartime levels. The ninety billion dollars of war goods being bought annually by the government today must be replaced by a similar amount of peacetime goods to be absorbed by greatly increased foreign and domestic markets. Needless to say, this is to be achieved under the existing economic setup—"private enterprise"—a term, Browder explains, which is synonymous with capitalism. And a term at which the Communists will certainly not cavil. But essential to the achievement of these high aims is the creation of an unprecedented national unity in which capital, labor, and all the classes will function as a team for the common goal of advancing our national economy. This requires compromise on all sides—a give-and-take spirit which will surmount class differences, avoid class collisions. For specific details I refer every reader to Browder's new book *Teheran, Our Path in War and Peace,* which elaborates the arguments presented at this convention.

Think these things over, Mr. Publisher, Great Lakes sailor, and pilot. Think deep, think fast. For history is moving at airplane speed and we need clear thinking today. And remember this: (Browder said it some time ago): "No greater love hath a man for his country than he who is willing to lay down his prejudices for it."

SUNDAY: Well, the Wilhelmstrasse lost no time in disparaging the convention: Dr. Goebbels' men were on the air within twenty-four hours after the gavel fell here, in Riverside Plaza Hall, to tell the world that it was all a dirty Communist trick to help Roosevelt. Indeed the Berlin broadcasters found nothing at all to like in the proceedings, even though the Communist Party closed twenty-five years of its history and voted unanimously to dissolve itself. The Nazi reaction was a tell-tale commentary on the significance of the convention. I attended a press conference where the United Press representative asked Mr. Browder for comment on Berlin's broadcast. Mr. Browder said he was not at all surprised—was, in fact, awaiting Hitler's reaction—but he could already predict what it was. He had read the Hearst editorials on the convention yesterday. Yes, the convention was bad for fascism. How bad, we'll leave for the historians to tell.

One unforgettable picture of the convention came Sunday night: the Latin American session. The men from Chile and Colombia who crossed the Andes and made the long trek here as fraternal delegates to report on the status of their homelands. Young and old men, they are senators and congressmen of their lands, leaders of the trade union movements. And the heart-warming response to them in Earl Browder's extemporaneous speech, which is published elsewhere in this issue. I cannot forget how the South Americans advanced on Browder, after his address, giving him the *embrazios* in true Latin American fashion, hugging him and pounding his back, expressing their affection for this *Norteamericano* who has always been a friend of their peoples.

It is truly hard to tell this story: so much is packed in the proceedings, so much of the stuff of our times. Of yesterday, of today, of tomorrow. It is truly tridimensional, containing within itself the essence of the past, the present, the future. Those twenty-five founders of the Party who came from the mine and steel country, from the farms and the big cities as guests of honor. Pat Cush who was at Homestead. Dan Slinger, the miner. Mother Bloor. What a rich tradition they spoke. And there is something majestic in Bob Minor's report on the Party's history this quarter century. He brings to mind all the things we have lived through, and as he speaks I recall vividly the happenings of the past ten or twelve years I witnessed. The great Hunger Marches: that tremendous struggle for social insurance. The unceasing fight for Negro rights: the Scottsboro case, the boys "who shall not die," and I recall how in '32 Berlin workers marched with banners saying "Free the Scottsboro boys." The unflagging campaign for industrial unionism through the years, which has borne fruit until today we see fourteen million organized trade unionists in America. The unforgettable speeches of Browder's, up and down the land, in the thirties, pleading for collective security, for that community of nations and particularly for the alliance with the Soviet

"Anna Damon," by Lydia Gibson.

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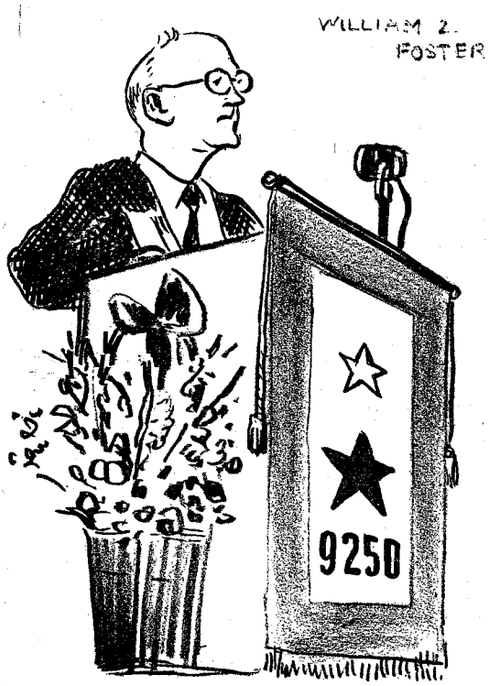
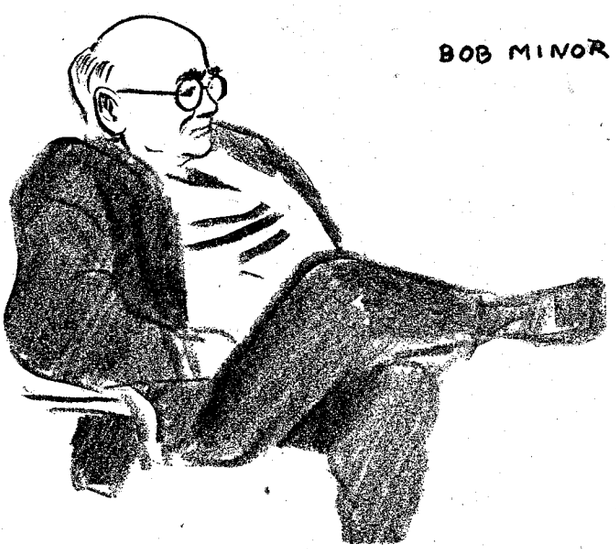
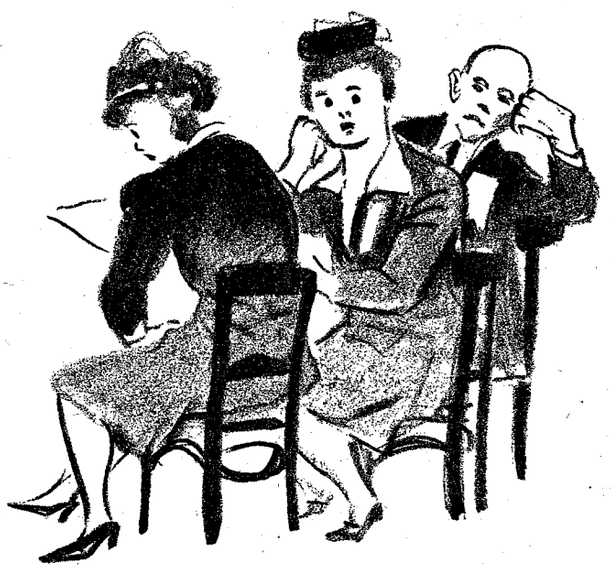
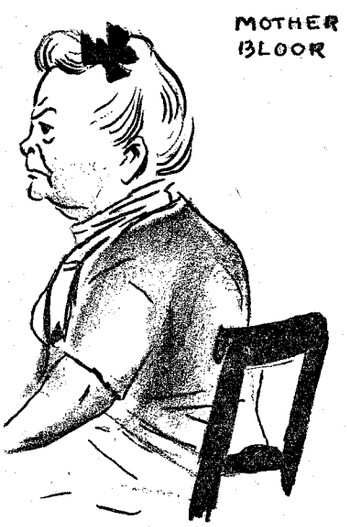
THE C.P.A. CONVENTION

SKETCHES BY GROPPER









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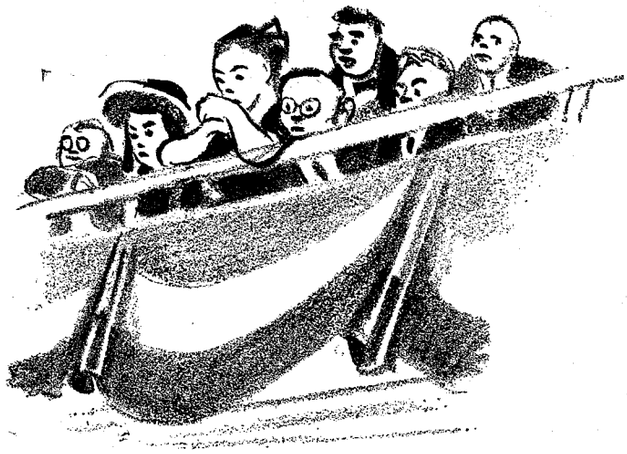

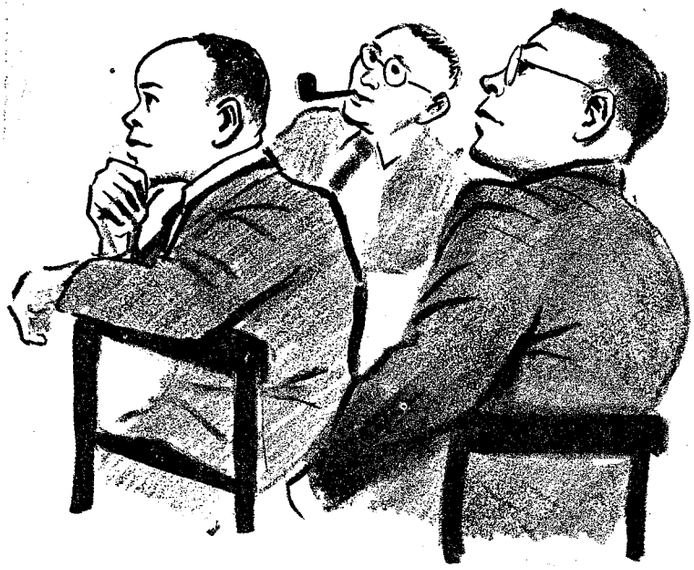

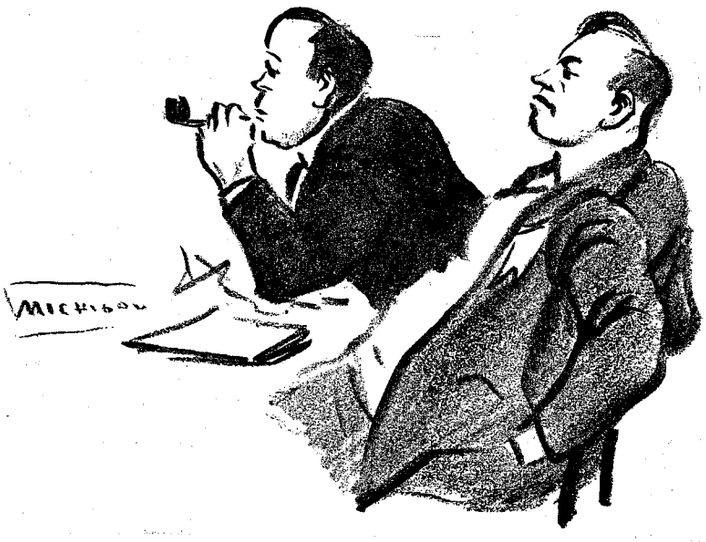

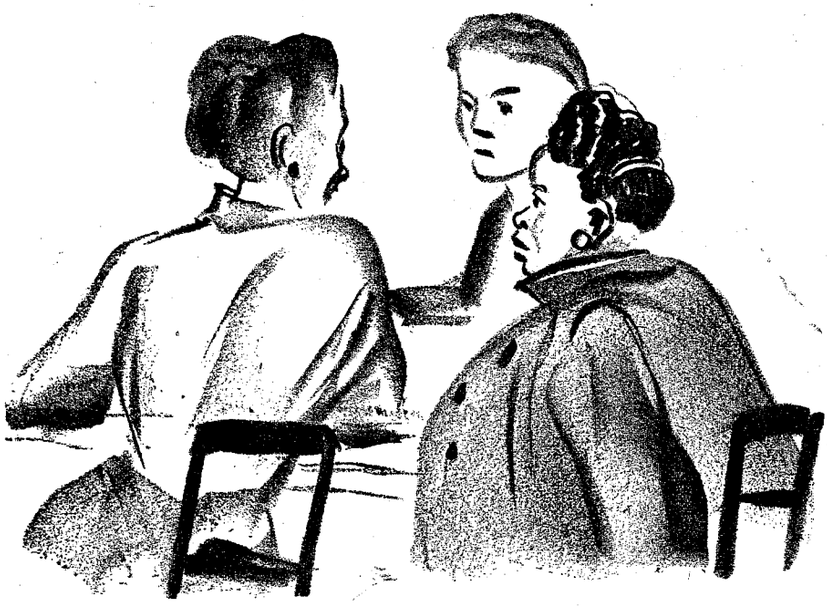

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They Shall Be Accused

With the war entering its decisive stages, the question of the punishment of fascist war criminals leaves the theoretical sphere and becomes a practical problem. The Russians in the Kharkov trial, and the French National Committee in the trial of Pucheu have already taken the first steps. In the next months all the Allies will be confronted with that problem on an ever increasing scale. It may therefore be timely to recall the criminal record of certain fascist personalities whose names are not found in the headlines but who nevertheless belong on any leading list of war criminals.

Here are the names and brief dossiers of two of the worst of Hitler's hangmen. They are all so-called *Volksdeutsche*, members of German minority groups outside the old borders of Germany or Germans living in Austria.

The first is Dr. Ernst Kaltenbrunner, Gestapo chieftain and successor of Heydrich, who was executed by Czech patriots in the summer of 1942. Kaltenbrunner is an Austrian, born in 1903 in the town of Ried, Upper Austria. He studied law at Prague where he received his Ph.D. in 1926. He also studied law in Vienna. He served as Assistant Judge in Linz—one of the early strongholds of Nazism in Austria. There, Kaltenbrunner joined the Nazi party and the Elite Guard. By 1933 he had worked his way to the leadership of the SS Standarte 37 (Elite Guard regiment), and shortly after became leader of SS Division Number 8. During the Schuschnigg regime, Kaltenbrunner was imprisoned for a year but had a merry time behind bars. Shortly before the Anschluss in 1938, Kaltenbrunner, on Hitler's order, became Austrian state secretary of security of Austria. Later transferred to Poland, Kaltenbrunner "excelled" in the extermination of Jews. He ordered the execution of thousands of hostages in order to deter Poles from forming guerrilla units. Kaltenbrunner was also sent by Himmler to tour various occupied countries where he decreed the shooting and burning of countless numbers of unarmed inhabitants. He has already been condemned to death by the Czechoslovak and the Polish underground. Twice his quarters were blown up, but he somehow managed to escape.

The second, Karl Hermann Frank, is the man on whom rests the responsibility for the mass slaughter of Czechs after Heydrich's assassination. Frank once boasted that he put to death about 8,500 hostages. He is one of the leaders of Henlein's Sudeten German party which acted as Hitler's fifth column in Czechoslovakia. He has only one eye, the other having been lost in a brawl many years ago. He was once bookseller and member of the Czechoslovak parliament.

Union, to block the encroachments of fascism, which could have crushed Hitler before this war broke out. But the Communists were not recriminating. This is no time for it. It's registered and they go on from here.

Go on from here. . . . This is the Party they are unanimously voting to dissolve. Actually, the conclusions here were to have been expected. There is little new in them, as Earl Browder said. The general propositions were sketched at the conference of the National Committee in January: they were discussed extensively throughout the land at innumerable meetings, and in fullest democratic spirit the proposals were ratified. These delegates were chosen to pronounce the ratification of the membership and elect their leaders.

I like this discussion over the new constitution: its draft has gone through the mill, every club has discussed each clause, weighed its merits. And now here, on the convention floor the delegates continue their scrutiny doggedly arguing their points. In fact, several delegates have their doubts over the wisdom of some phases of the dues payments clause, finally sent back to the Resolutions Committee for further consideration. It is but one instance of the full democracy which characterized the convention and the proceedings prior to it: the discussions from the top down to the nuclei of the organization, the clubs.

Monday: No trained observer could fail to notice the degree of unity the delegates reflect: the overwhelming majority of the Party members had realized the need to dissolve their Party and the need to form the new type of organization they founded. They saw this as the convention of the Common Denominator: the affirmation of our country's and all mankind's, community. They sought out the imperative of our time: the association of all anti-fascists, all democrats, all patriots. This is implicit in the choice of the name for their new organization: the Communist Political Association. In dissolving the Party, as party in our traditional American sense of running candidates for office and seeking partisan aims, the Communists renounced all goals of partisan advancement for themselves. The members of their new, non-party organization will participate in political life as independents, at the side of their progressive associates in the present established party organizations. They will not commit themselves to any party label, but will judge all issues and men on their merits.

Yes, the convention has truly succeeded in synthesizing the aspirations of the overwhelming majority of Americans. That is the peculiar essence of the discussion and the decisions: it is all in the total spirit of national unity. The interests of all classes were considered: I am struck by this in listening to the resolutions, particularly those on "National Unity for Victory, Security, and a Durable Peace" and "On Reconversion." I feel that any intelligent American—miner or big businessman—say, Eric Johnston—will ultimately understand and agree with these proceedings. For the yardstick was, "Are you for or against the concord of Teheran? Are you for or against our national interest?" Not, "Are you a merchant or a miner, a capitalist, or a clerk?"

I have already mentioned the exemplary unity of the convention: I would like to cite its further manifestation in the unanimous election of the Association's leadership. A National Committee of sixty was chosen with Mr. Browder as president. The eleven vice presidents, headed by William Z. Foster, include Robert Minor, James W. Ford, Elizabeth Gurley Flynn, Eugene Dennis, Robert Thompson, Gilbert Green, Roy Hudson, Benjamin J. Davis, Jr., Morris Childs, and William Schneiderman. John Williamson was elected secretary and Charles Krumbein, treasurer; men and women of tested caliber, tried in the crucible of the Party's experience, trusted by the membership. These are the leaders who share the bold vision of their president, Earl Browder. They dare to point the paths through the uncharted future, an era never before envisioned by any man. They dare, because as American patriots, they are also Marxist thinkers, men and women who apply their scientific training to the events of their times, and who act fearlessly out of the synthesis of their theory and their practice.

These are but a few, and necessarily sketchy, observations on the convention: further articles are necessary to discuss the full program of the Communist Political Association. The cause of victory in this war, and of democracy, was advanced at these sessions. And millions of Hank Forbes' buddies at the fronts will feel the results.

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APPEAL TO LATIN AMERICA

By EARL BROWDER

The following is an address made by Mr. Browder at a session of the first convention of the Communist Political Association in response to the greetings of distinguished guests from the labor movements of Latin America. The convention was greeted in person by Sen. Elias Lafferte, chairman of the Communist party of Chile, Sen. Augusto Duran, secretary of the Communist party of Colombia, Congressman Juan Lima, secretary of the Committee for Labor Unity of Peru, Juan Antonio Corretjer, Puerto Rican leader now editing "Pueblos Hispanos" in New York, and Rep. Salvador Ocampo, secretary of the Chilean Confederation of Workers.

I AM very happy to respond to the important messages we have received tonight from our neighbors in the South. We note with great regret the absence of many of our friends from Latin America who would have liked to have been here, but who were prevented from arriving by the difficulties of wartime travel. I refer particularly to our old and beloved friends from Mexico and Cuba.

We know that in every Latin American country we have friends and co-workers. We also know that they are doing a magnificent work in their own countries. We know that they are holding up their end in this war, something that many of us tend to forget because our eyes are largely fastened upon the great tasks on the battlefields in Europe. We do not always realize what a difficult part in this war is being played by the democratic forces in Latin America. Against greater difficulties than we can conceive of, and with only a little fraction of the resources which we have at our disposal, they have been holding that great territory against the assaults of fascism over a long period—and too much of that time with very little help from the United States.

We saw this dramatically expressed in the recent meeting of the International Labor Organization in Philadelphia. One would have expected that the labor representative of the United States in that organization would have been in the forefront in protecting and advancing the policy of the United Nations and the policy of our own country in resisting the encroachments of the Axis in our hemisphere. But we saw that this task had to be taken up by the Latin American labor delegates, under the able and brilliant leadership of Vicente Lombardo Toledano. And we saw, to our great shame, that the Latin American delegates who were fighting for the interests of the policies of our country, the United States, had to overcome the resistance of the American labor delegate, Mr. Robert Watt.

So we know that our Latin American brothers and sisters are really carrying on the war and in many cases doing it with greater efficiency and greater honor than some of the representatives of our own country. We thank our Latin American comrades for the services that they have rendered.

Not only in the war do we understand the great services that they have rendered to us. We know in the postwar world they are going to play a role of tremendous importance, and tremendous importance to us in the United States. I want to say a few words about just one aspect of the postwar problem of Latin America in relation to the United States.

We need Latin America very much in the postwar world. We need Latin America especially because our whole system of civilization in this country, the whole continued operation of our economy on which we depend for our daily bread, depends upon finding other lands that will relieve us of the tremendous production of our factories that we don't know how to consume ourselves. And we are depending upon Latin America to help us out in this respect. Please, Latin America, take a lot of our goods off our hands in the postwar world.

SOME people think the Latin Americans need us. In a way, yes, they do. But they don't need us nearly as badly as we need them. Even if they don't get our goods after the war, they can at least continue

"Producing for Resistance," woodcut by Chang Hui.

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along as they have for hundreds of years. But if they don't take our goods, we are going to have a catastrophe in this country such as we won't know how to solve. We cannot continue without their countries as markets. So we turn to Latin America, as we are turning to Africa and to Asia. We are saying: "Please, you other countries in the world, we are producing machines; we are going to produce more and more of them after the war. When the war market is gone, we are not going to be able to use these machines ourselves. We must find customers. Please be our customers and help us keep our factories going."

We hope the Latin American countries will be gracious enough to listen to our request—"Please be our customers."

We are learning also that it is no good for us to have Latin America as customers in the same way as we had them in the past—that is, under the terms laid down by short-sighted and greedy monopolists, with the imperialist mentality, who went into Latin America as conquerors, using commodities in the place of the sword and bank credits in the place of guns. They want to enslave the Latin American economies and to subvert their democratic structures, to distort their industrial development so as to transform those countries into appendages, colonial appendages of the North American metropolis.

That kind of market is no good to us any more because that kind of market is too limited. It simply will not solve our problems. The only kind of market in Latin America that really responds to our need is that provided by Latin American peoples who are modernizing their countries in every respect, industrializing them. And that means a different kind of customer from the old colonial customer. All the old colonial features of our economic relations must be wiped out because otherwise the market is going to be too small. We have to have a huge and growing market, and the only nations that can give us a huge and growing market are nations which buy not only the chief consumption commodities, but our most expensive machines. We want Latin America to take locomotives in large numbers, rails, heavy machinery. We want them to buy from us the means of production so that they can go into business for themselves in a modern way.

So we want a new relationship with Latin America. We want strong Latin American democracies standing on their own feet, nobody able to give them orders of any kind, because that is the only kind of customers that can buy the goods in the volume that we must sell and that is the only kind of customers that can pay. Eventually, of course, Latin America is going to pay us for everything we send them. And they are going to find it easy to pay because they will not pay by the intensified exploitation of their own people. They will be able to pay because their own people will be becoming more wealthy all the time, with rising living standards and rising demands. They will be able to pay because through an all-around modern industrialization, they will be able to produce wealth as we produce it in the United States. We hope they will be able to produce it even more efficiently than we have so far.

WE HAVE great hopes for the future relations between the United States and Latin America—and I must say that we are not expressing merely our own point of view on this point. We have a growing degree of agreement with capitalists in the United States who are more and more awakening to the fact that the old type of colonial profits has no future for them, capitalists who are more and more prepared to do business with the Latin American peoples who are sensible to the need to organize themselves democratically, with strong governments, and to make plans for their own national industrial modernization. And a growing number of American big businessmen would like to do business with strong Latin American governments on that basis and to do business much more reasonably than they ever did before. They are beginning to feel a growing strength in Latin America and they have respect for strength. So we have great hopes for the future of our continental relationships.

Even though we have strong and stubborn reactionary and imperialist, blindly imperialist, forces in the United States, and though we warn our Latin American neighbors they must beware of these forces and they must be prepared to defeat them when they come down to their countries—nevertheless we must also say that the future does not belong to these blind and greedy and shortsighted imperialist forces in our country. Their day is finished, although they will not depart from the historical scene until they are licked and removed. Their day is finished because they can no longer answer even the problems of the American capitalist class. With their methods they can't produce markets big enough for American industry, and therefore more enlightened men have to come into the direction of American capitalism. Such enlightened men are beginning to appear and they are going to become strong because the forces of history are with them. They are the only men who know how and have sense enough to begin to cooperate with the labor movement, to find common policy with the labor movement of this country and of Latin America. They are the only ones who can sit down and talk with such men as Lombardo Toledano about the plans of Latin America. These are the kinds of American capitalists to whom the future belongs in this country because these are the only kinds of men who can go out and get a market—who can get the only kind of market that is not going to choke us after the war because we don't find customers. The men who can find the market for America's surplus products in the postwar world are the men who are going to shape our western hemisphere, if not a large part of the western world.

And in this question of finding the markets that they must have if our industries are to continue to operate—in this task we expect tremendous cooperation from our Latin American friends. We promise them our full collaboration in seeing that those relationships are placed on the basis of complete equality and common interest between the Latin American countries and our country. We promise them that we are going to be working here to remove the last traces of colonialism from the policy of the United States towards Latin America. And we want to see, and we expect to see, the Good Neighbor policy so deepened that it will find expression in the exchange of goods between this country and Latin America — an exchange which North American capital will find it profitable to finance from this country for a whole period of years with long-term credits. We expect it to be an exchange in which Latin America will become rich enough to pay off all the bills in the course of industrialization and stand on a firm basis of equality with us. Together we will fight for that kind of extension of the Good Neighbor policy. Not only must it completely express itself in our economic relationships, but it must expand those economic relations tenfold in the next few years.

★ ★ ★

To Anna Damon

Let the grass grow over the flat grave—
Let the wind blow through the long grass—
Do not carve a name. Do not engrave
A date on a stone. Let it pass
Completed and fruitful. But do not forget
The tireless courage, the steel will, the gray keen eye,
The mouth full of wisdom, the strong hand stretched out,
The heart beating, the mind laboring for comrades—
These are the things to remember.
These are the things that do not die.

L.G.

★ ★ ★

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THE NEGRO SOLDIER

By VIRGINIA GARDNER

Washington.

PEDESTRIANS on Massachusetts Avenue one day in recent weeks may have been mildly surprised to see a couple of youths walk out the doors of the old House Office Building and, out of the exuberance of teen age, take a slide down the bannister leading to the sidewalk. I do not know that they were members of the American Youth for Democracy. I only know that an AYD delegation of seventy-five was here that day, seeing Senators on the anti-poll tax bill, seeing House and Senate members of military and naval affairs committees regarding discrimination in the armed forces.

If they were AYDers, I know the irresistible impulse to slide down the polished wood of the hand railing of the House Office Building steps had nothing to do with their equipment to deal with the problems of today. That much was evident when I dropped in on their afternoon conclave. True, one boy I was interviewing on his day's experiences let out a whoop of joy when a fellow delegate confronted him with the startling news that the Giants beat the Dodgers twenty-one to eight. But he collected himself and told me: "First, we organized—our group. There were four of us. We planned our questions. After the first Senator, who scared us a little, we didn't let them get us off the track by questioning us. We took the offensive." Margaret, a Negro girl, reporting to the rest, spoke out of her immense poise: "We were the victims of extreme youth-baiting."

It was altogether a family affair, where the youngsters reported back to each other about what the various Senators said about cloture, and what the committee members said about the far from unrelated subject of discrimination in the armed forces. I only mention it because it was impressive and moving.

The plumpish girl in the plaid suit, who began by tugging at her clothes in a gesture reminiscent of everyone's teens, soon forgot to tug as her factual tale of the day's adventures unfolded. I mention it, too, because I think it typifies what the authors of *The Races of Mankind* meant when they said: "Only the people themselves can really end racial discrimination, through understanding, sympathy, and public action. But there is evidence that the American people as individuals are beginning to think and to act." They cite instances, such as the signing of 100,000 names to a petition for at least one division in the Army containing both Negroes and whites. These instances, they said, "tell us that the conscience of America is aroused, that there is work to be done, that some of us are already trying to do it."

Chairman Andrew J. May (a Kentucky Democrat) of the House Military Affairs Committee recently said he was told by high Army officials that Negroes did not make very courageous soldiers. This is one of those Hitler-serving lies that can be disproved by the record. Possibly May has never read it, but *Negroes and the War* contains an interesting passage on the subject. This is the brochure which Rep. Joe Starnes, a poll tax Republicrat, who was defeated in the recent Alabama primaries, objected to, with the result that OWI did away with a million and a half copies. "The Negro soldier has a proud tradition," it says. "There were Negro soldiers in the Revolutionary War, in the War of 1812, in the Mexican War, in the Civil War." Four Negro regiments were awarded the Croix de Guerre in the last World War. The 369th was under fire 191 days, had 1,500 casualties, never lost a prisoner or a foot of ground and took every objective except one in offense operations—when there was no artillery support. "Some record. Some regiment."

May's committee caused the banning of *The Races of Mankind* as a part of the Army's orientation course. But congressional interference is usually not the subject of public scrutiny. One protest from an influential member of Congress may cancel some step designed to provide more democratization in the Army. Naturally it does not help Negro morale to shift Army programs which are already under way only because a Congressman has objected.

"It is not the Army that is responsible for continuing Jim Crowism," a Negro captain told me. "The heat is on—from Congress. It is true that many of the old-line Army officers are Southerners. Economic opportunities for ambitious young men there are smaller than in the North, so they go into the services. But it is from outside the Army that pressure is greatest."

Too often Negroes have been expensively trained for one thing and then had their unit broken up as training was almost completed, to be assigned to service duties. The

First Lieutenant Herbert E. Carter of Emory, Miss., gives the details of the day's mission to members of the 99th Fighter Squadron somewhere in Italy.

US Army Signal Corps

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Years of the Modern

In connection with the one hundred and twenty-fifth anniversary of the birth of Walt Whitman, on May 31, International Publishers will issue soon a new volume of selections from Whitman's prose and poetry, edited and with an introduction by NM's literary critic Samuel Sillen, of the English Department of New York University. "Years of the Modern," reprinted below, is included in the new volume.

Years of the modern! years of the unperform'd!
Your horizon rises, I see it parting away for more august dramas,
I see not America only, not only Liberty's nation but other nations preparing,
I see tremendous entrances and exits, new combinations, the solidarity of races,
I see that force advancing with irresistible power on the world's stage,
(Have the old forces, the old wars, played their parts? are the acts suitable to them closed?)
I see Freedom, completely arm'd and victorious and very haughty, with Law on one side and Peace on the other,
A stupendous trio all issuing forth against the idea of caste;
What historic denouements are these we so rapidly approach?
I see men marching and countermarching by swift millions,
I see the frontiers and boundaries of the old aristocracies broken,
I see the landmarks of European kings removed,
I see this day the People beginning their landmarks, (all others give way;)
Never were such sharp questions ask'd as this day,
Never was average man, his soul, more energetic, more like a God,
Lo, how he urges and urges, leaving the masses no rest!
His daring foot is on land and sea everywhere, he colonizes the Pacific, the archipelagoes,
With the steamship, the electric telegraph, the newspaper, the wholesale engines of war,
With these and the world-spreading factories he interlinks all geography, all lands;
What whispers are these O lands, running ahead of you, passing under the seas?
Are all nations communing? is there going to be but one heart to the globe?
Is humanity forming en-masse? for lo, tyrants tremble, crowns grow dim,
The earth, restive, confronts a new era, perhaps a general divine war,
No one knows what will happen next, such portents fill the days and nights;
Years prophetical! the space ahead as I walk, as I vainly try to pierce it, is full of phantoms,
Unborn deeds, things soon to be, project their shapes around me,
This incredible rush and heat, this strange ecstatic fever of dreams O years!
Your dreams O years, how they penetrate through me! (I know not whether I sleep or wake;)
The perform'd America and Europe grow dim, retiring in shadow behind me,
The unperform'd more gigantic than ever, advance, advance upon me.

WALT WHITMAN.

369th Coast Artillery (anti-aircraft), trained in New York, was sent to Hawaii. Instead of using their proficiency in producing ack-ack, the sound which accompanies the firing of those shells which make the little black puffs you see in the movies —and bring down bombers—these men are unloading ships and transporting supplies. Not so another Negro anti-aircraft outfit, which is in Italy and has figured in the news. So has a battalion of the 24th Infantry now in action in the jungles, but the Negroes making up the 24th did service work for six months before they got a chance to use their skills and training.

Negroes are making a brilliant record in action when allowed to do what they were trained to do. Secretary of War Henry L. Stimson recently said there is no discrimination against Negroes in assigning troops to war duties. There were 664,066 in the Army at the end of February, Stimson said; and fifty percent were overseas or enroute. There will be about 700,000 eventually, compared to 400,000 in the last war. Stimson, in answer to a protest from Rep. Louis Ludlow (Democrat, Ind.)—showing there are congressional protests on behalf of Negroes—said placement is "entirely unrelated to racial derivations." The fact remains that about seventy percent of the Negro troops are in service units. And of the combat troops, some are sent abroad and put to doing longshoremen's work or driving trucks.

Let's take a look at some of those who have been sent into action. Even the cold military language of Gen. Henry H. Arnold, Commanding General of the Army Air Forces, cannot obscure the fact which Chairman May must find so noxious, that our Negro troops are among our first heroes in the Mediterranean. Arnold's message, released last February 5 at Algiers: "The results of the Ninety-ninth Fighter Squadron during the past two weeks, particularly since the Nettuno landing, are very commendable." Pilots of the squadron's seventeen planes had destroyed twelve German planes in two days, and on the day of the message, a thirteenth. Since then their record has increased. They have gone on a couple of thousand missions by now, in Africa, Sicily, and Italy.

Because this unit was an experiment, the Army gave it the very best of equipment. They fly the P-40, a slower ship than some, but it is the only one they could use for their function, which is strafing and bombing. The squadron is a fighter-bomber squadron. These versatile ships can carry two 500-pound bombs, but the unit's real mission is fighting. A Negro fighter group in Italy is using the P-39. This is a newer unit. Active since the first of the year, its activities are blacked out largely to date and will be until this group makes contact with the enemy in force. It is made up of three Negro squadrons under the command of Lieut. Col. Benjamin O.

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Davis, Jr., son of the Army's ranking Negro, Brigadier General Davis.

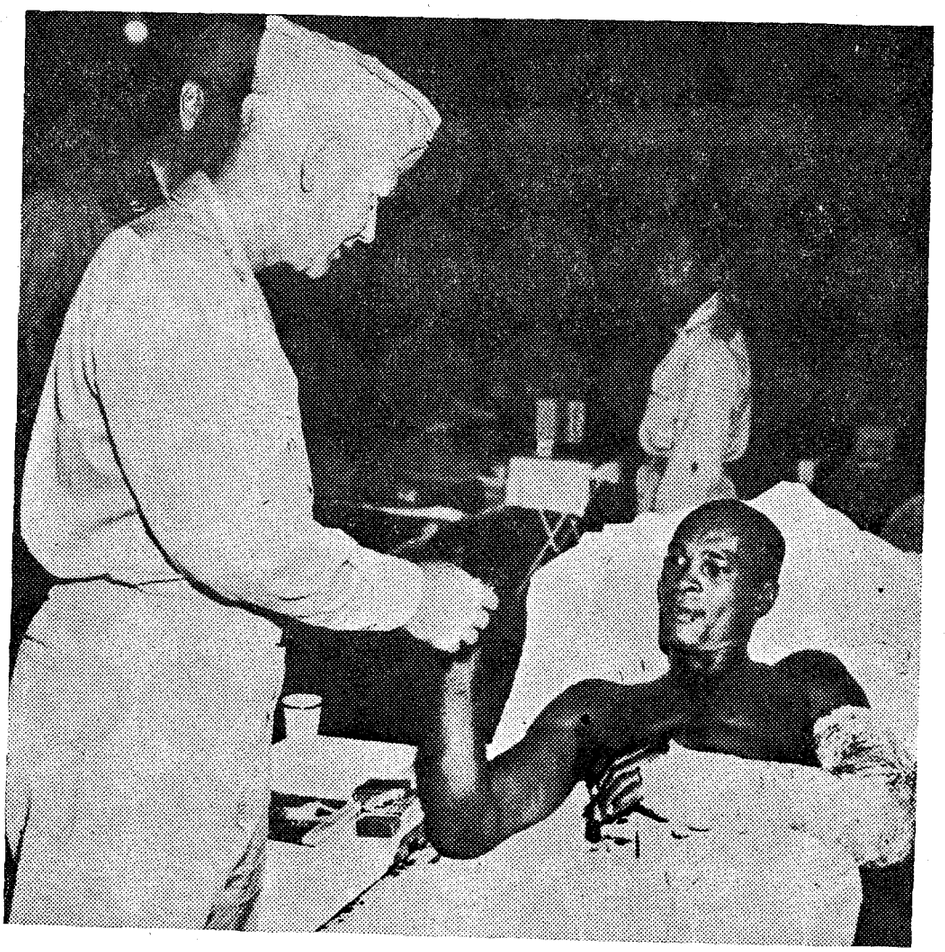
ONE of the leaders of the Senate southern bloc who, with the aid of behind-the-scenes Republican skullduggery in blocking cloture, stopped HR 7, the anti-poll tax bill, is Sen. Josiah Bailey of North Carolina. Senator Bailey likes to say very nice things about Negroes—Negroes "who keep their place." He says they have no trouble with Negroes in North Carolina. Well, down in a Greensboro, N. C., church last month a Negro mother, Mrs. Louise Mears, received the Air Medal with the Oak Leaf Cluster for her boy, Technical Sergeant William G. Mears, who was killed.

Now actually Mears hadn't kept his place. For no Negro unit is using Flying Fortresses, or B-24s. But he was on one. Jim Crow often slips up when the necessities of actual warfare are at hand. Mears had completed five missions as an aerial gunner on a Flying Fortress and had an enemy Messerschmitt 110 to his credit when his plane was shot down in the Mediterranean April 26, 1943, according to the terse War Department release. The real story of Mears, though, was that he was doubtless in a mixed crew. It is the sort of thing which happens so frequently in the theater of war. Color lines and artificial bars, observed in this country where we can go in for such refinements because we're not at grips with the enemy, have a tendency to drop away.

Thus the 99th pilots have flown on combat patrol with British pilots in their Spitfires quite frequently. What happens? Death or casualties overtake a British crew. The British are stationed near the 99th. They ask for a loan of six pilots, say, while awaiting reinforcements. The 93rd infantry division which took part in the attack on Bougainville Island against the Japs is a mixed division, predominantly Negro. They are fighting alongside the veteran white Americal Division, and the veterans are glad to have them.

A Negro private, James H. O'Baner, of Sidon, Miss., received the personal congratulations of Maj. Gen. Oscar W. Griswold, Commanding General of Allied troops on Bougainville Island, April 29, for "killing the first Japanese soldier credited to elements of the 93rd Infantry Division." If Rep. John Rankin or Sen. James O. Eastland of Mississippi did read this, they probably worked all the harder lining up Senate votes against HR 7.

There are Negro nurses in Australia, and, operating in the South Pacific, a Negro aircraft warning company which bristles with college degrees and was under the command of Capt. Herbert R. Orr, (reported dead April 29), who taught electronics at the Florida Agricultural and Mechanical College. A company of Negro parachutists has been formed, with six Negro officers, and soon will be assigned to a regiment. At Roswell, N. M., twenty-five officers are training to be navigator-bombardiers, and on graduating next month will join the 477th Bombardment Group, Medium, which began January 15 at Selfridge Field, Mich. and is now at Godman Field, Fort Knox, Ky. Transitional training in the B-25, or medium bomber, is going on at Mather Field, near Mills, Cal. Fighter pilots, bomber pilots and navigator-bombardiers are being trained at the Tuskegee, Ala., Army air field. Ground crews, air gunners, refueling units, and all the radio, armorer, electrician, and propeller mechanic experts needed to keep planes going, are training in a dozen other places.



Gen. William McCulloch, assistant commander of the Americal Division, presenting the Purple Heart to S/Sgt. Sammy H. Black of Houston, Texas. Sergeant Black was one of the first casualties of the 93rd Division attached to the Americal Division fighting the Japanese at Bougainville.
US Army Signal Corps

I asked a Negro captain what he thought would happen, on the basis of his experience, if the Army wiped out Jim Crow. "It would be accepted," he said. "We had no trouble or friction at Camp Sill. (Since hostilities all Negro officer candidates have been trained with white candidates.) The Army simply didn't permit it. The commander let it be known that any soldier who made one racist remark would be sent home. It worked."

Negro boys are learning what it is like to be warmly treated in Africa and Italy and England. The Negro soldier and the Englishman have become friends. I talked to George W. Goodman, Negro club director for the Red Cross in England for eighteen months, who recently toured twenty-five cities here helping raise funds for the Red Cross. He found that "the most hopeful thing here is the CIO, which is doing more than a thousand seminars on race relations."

Segregation in the Red Cross clubs was intended by the Army, but just didn't pan out that way, said Goodman. His club has a staff of seventy-five British, five Americans. But twenty percent of its American soldier clientele is white. They have 125 British girls as hostesses. Goodman, to forestall any criticism, enlisted Lady Inskip and the wife of the president of the Bristol Bombing plant, who got their friends and their nieces and their neighbors to be the hostesses. Southern white boys dance with the British girls who also are dancing with Negro soldiers. "They have the time of their lives. It's impossible—it couldn't happen—but it is happening," said Goodman.

Except in London, Cardiff, and Liverpool most English people had never seen

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Negroes. "It was a perfect setting for natural antipathy, if there were such a thing, to show itself. And it just wasn't there." Environment had made the Englishman slow of speech and movement. Cramped quarters geographically had their effect. They found many Americans brash, or noisy, he said. But they found an affinity in the Negro. His environment made him unassuming, quiet, "because he has been hurt so much." He had to be controlled and discreet to survive. The Britisher liked that. He was grateful that the Negro didn't talk about the virtues of central heating or speedy American automobiles.

"In 1942 General Eisenhower gave a beautiful order," said Goodman. "In effect he said, you are in England now. England does not have discrimination and segregation on the basis of color. Because that is true you are not supposed to bring in any erroneous stories or inflict your prejudices on Englishmen, or to abuse them if they don't share your prejudices. Leave them strictly alone and let them form friendships in accordance with an Englishman's desires." Eisenhower went to Africa, and the order was not carried out with any consistency, there being as many variations as there were white officers, said Goodman. But it had an effect on the rank-and-file nonetheless. And so did a few tiffs with Britishers. Some white soldiers who peddled tales about Negroes were met with this rejoinder by Britishers: "So what are you doing here if you're trying to spread Hitler stuff?"

If the British had had any hesitation about accepting Negro troops it vanished when they saw Negro soldiers unload ships in record time, put up air fields and hangars ahead of schedule, and establish an amazing convoy service for supplying bombs to the various airports. Late in '43 a choral group of 250 Negroes from the Army, with Roland Hayes as soloist, sang spirituals in the Royal Albert Hall, and England was won over completely. "That did more to establish better Anglo-American relations than anything else—and that's not my idea, it's what their newspapers said," said Goodman.

Hitler called Negroes "half-apes" and Julius Streicher, editor of *Der Sturmer*, Hitler's anti-Negro and anti-Semitic organ, said, "The emancipation of the Jews and the liberation of the black slaves are the two crimes of civilization committed by the plutocrats in the last few centuries." Citing this, *Negroes and the War*, written by Chandler Owen, Negro publicist of Chicago, continued: "Some Americans say that it makes no difference who wins the war. Dorie Miller doesn't say that. Joe Louis doesn't say that. Most of the 13,000,000 loyal Negro citizens know that America is fighting not only to live, but to live more fully. Because we have known the weight of chains . . . we can be a mighty force in this nation's fight for freedom."

THE WOUNDED

By BILL AALTO

"GANGWAY!" shout the speed maniacs in wheel-chairs as they race down the inclined corridors of Walter Reed Hospital in Washington, D.C. Two crutch-cases go hobbling past at double time, each trying to beat the other to the mess-hall line. I take my place in the gang for the first time and sit down at the nearest table, half hiding my missing hand. An armless fellow patient resting his stump on the table leans over toward me to ask dead-pan, "Hey you, bud, say, did they draft you like that?" I burst out with laughter together with the table and am cured of taking myself seriously.

Visitors arrive here ready to weep at the slightest provocation, their faces polite with pain. They are completely bewildered when a legless patient waves one crutch and shouts, "to hell with going out with you crippled bastards." By the time they reach the ward they want, they are quite sure there is some mistake. The girls in Washington, the Waves, GI sisters, and the like, flock to the dances at the hospital and are danced to death and always go home eager to return—unless they're too old or ugly. The boys are still fussy.

In the wards, passes are the goal of every patient. A few hours of civilian life is the best therapy available. Most officers know this, and only a few by sheer bad administration make it tough on the guys. In other words these wounded are normal, healthy American youth, whose main desire is to get back into life again.

Sometimes a lad from Africa or Italy will turn up bitter at the failure of his commander and super-critical of old "Bloodn' Guts." In the washrooms, those unable to leave on passes congregate almost every night for the bull session, or a card game. Black, yellow, and white meet on an equal basis. Sometimes a rampant Southerner will snipe at the colored boys, but he always shies away from direct contact with, for example, a strapping Negro sergeant. The Negro boys take part in the games and express themselves in the discussions. And there are a few who try to appease their discriminators by maligning Jews. But in this mixture of Americans, an interchange of ideas takes place. A farmer from York, Pennsylvania, will argue with both a Southerner and a New Yorker. He finally will decide in debate that all races are equal and that unions have a purpose. A parachute sergeant from upper New York State will grab my copy of *PM* and eagerly discuss race relations. The farmer, Clark Eveler, has an arm missing; the sergeant, Warren Spencer, has some fingers gone. Yet both of them are alive and thinking of the future of their country.

Warren Johns, an engineer sergeant wounded in the Solomons, worries over and actively takes part in the work of the Veterans of Foreign Wars. Private Potts from North Carolina is amazed by the views of the damnyankees. But he doesn't support the embryonic fascist views on race, rule, or religion of a Virginian who is the loudest of all and the funniest. George Akers and another lad both think of home and boast of the steep West Virginia hollows "where sunlight has to be piped in."

The stories of these lads are different only in detail. As Private Francesco, who landed at Salerno said, "We went into our first battle walking. At Salerno, we promenaded up the beach as if we were Superman. Those bullets can't hit *me*. The Germans had laid down a beautiful small-arms crossfire, but none of us got down. That is, not until an '88 landed just beyond me and then I was down flat and strictly GI."

These boys were shaken out of their normal routines and matured by battle, but they have returned thinking for the most part in about the same fashion as when they left. They have no respect for pompous speeches, are critical of authority and will look at the life about them with a sharper eye. They can judge individual phonies and have techniques for handling such cases as the movie-struck bar flies who approached Sergeant Klotz of Syracuse to inquire maudlinly, "You poor lad, where did you lose your arm?" Klotz answered, "Well, old belt, I was walking down the street one day swinging my arms like mad, when whaddya know, it fell off." At this his pal Sergeant Kunz of Cincinnati, joins in to say, "Lemme tell you where I lost mine. A streetcar door chopped it off. Now if we had rubber, that wouldn't have happened."

These men have created their way of life out of the materials at hand. Any cynicism we may have is due to a desire to forget the ugliness, but among ourselves we discuss fully the battles and the way we were hurt. Not all the wounded come from the battlefield; at least six amputation cases were caused by training accidents, or negligence by inexperienced men, or defective materiel. But the wounded have sound minds and entire memories. They are much as they were before. They don't want to be treated as if they were sick. They are not. They have been uprooted and wish to become rooted once more in familiar soil.

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NO TIME FOR IVORY TOWERS

By DAVID PORTER

THE war has brought basic changes to American universities. Many institutions, unable to adjust to the present crisis have been forced to close. Those remaining have put their emphasis on science, on direct training for the war, and have curtailed their presentation of non-essential courses. Only a few fortunate institutions have been able to continue graduate courses in the liberal arts. The professors still permitted to teach graduate courses in literature, for instance, are privileged, and with such a privilege, it seems to me, should go the obligation of aiding the war effort. Yet the universities, which should be guiding the intellectual life of the country, are not accepting their obligations, and their failure is especially evident in the field of the liberal arts. With rare exceptions courses in this field are conducted as though nothing unusual were occurring in the world. It would seem that professors ought by now to have some inkling of the great changes taking place about them. But most of them will not "stoop" to relating their subject matter to the present world situation. They find approaching literature, for example, from the point of view of fostering a better world degrading. The professors of such courses consider themselves as the preservers of higher learning. They are carrying the torch during these dark days. Or so they would have us believe.

We would expect that patriotic professors should be rallying to provide intellectual leadership to their students. Yet not only do instructors fail to see the needs of the day, but they have developed rationalizations to support their continued refusal to look at the world as it exists. It may be true that universities have always been slow in accepting new intellectual movements—they did not, for example, accept Darwinism until it had become almost a commonplace among scientists. But certainly the present world crisis demands new approaches to traditional subject matter and the introduction of new vital material. Situations such as I have met in the graduate literature classes are not to be passed over lightly. The country and the world have neither the time nor the money to waste in useless estheticism, medievalism, or Victorian moralizing.

SPECIFICALLY, the teaching of literature is riddled with platonism. Professors delight in generalizations. A student with an analytical mind constantly wonders what many of the broad terms flung about in the classroom mean. Lacking a basic philosophy of history, the instructors do not discuss ideas and philosophies in relation to their times, but as eternal universalities. History does not move for these professors except to increase the amount of material for them to examine.

Literature is to them a creation of genius quite disconnected from life. Thus the reason for the development of romantic literature of the nineteenth century is to be found in the desire for a change from the stiff classical forms of the preceding era. Merely, a question of taste, certainly not of the industrial revolution! The writer is considered as Man the Artist, a peculiar sensitive being not subject to the same reactions as the rest of us, and not even living in the same world with us. That students commonly accept this theory is indicative of its prevalence among the instructors.

I had a surprising experience of my own in opposing this concept. I had had the temerity to attack an opinion expressed by Edwin Arlington Robinson in one of his letters as snobbish. He had written: "Art may die, having served its purpose, but it will never be popular—there will never be more than one person in a thousand who will know or really care anything about poetry. The few people who make the world fit to live in are comparatively negligible." The class objected to my protest. "Of course," they insisted, "a poet is a sensitive being who has difficulty acclimating himself to the world about him."

What of Shakespeare, Milton, Pushkin? It appears to be the opinion of the graduate students—derived quite likely from the professors—that poetry cannot be understood by the people, that it is reserved for graduate students. When I reminded the class of the present popularity of poetry in the Soviet Union, I was assured by the professor that that was due to the developing nationalism of the country. I suggested that he might have said that poetry can be popular when it expresses the aspirations of the people. The class did not agree: needless to say, neither did he.

Authors are to be isolated from their environment and then studied. It is, however, orthodox to look for influences of other writers in works of literature, but not for influences of the social situation. So, in one class Veblen's *Theory of the Leisure Class* was condemned as being too critical—as showing only the sorry side of civilization. The book was shockingly nasty. The reason was, they said, that Veblen had been a pupil of Sumner, who was probably ill-natured because he had the gout. Books, like authors, are to be considered as the all-in-all in themselves. That accounts for the fifteen-minute discussion whether in the *Forsyte Saga*, Irene had had an affair with Bosinney. All the facts were mustered, various opinions were expressed. Finally, the conclusion was reached. Yes, Irene had had an affair with Bosinney. The professor suggested that the incident had not been well handled. But the artist, certainly, could not have been influenced by the attitude of his times in presenting the situation. No, that has nothing to do with art.

CATEGORIZING is the professor's especial delight. Is Forster's *Passage To India* a sociological novel? Only the uniniate would hazard a definite affirmative. It appears that this famous study of the Indian problem is not a sociological novel at all—at least not definitely—we might argue about it—compare it with some other novels and say finally in the manner of the New York *Times*, "Maybe yes—and then again, maybe no." It was decided that the novel was a combination of mystical, intellectual, and satiric elements, and not a very good combination at that. I naively asked to be allowed to present a report with another approach. My attack seemed to me to be an obvious one. I attempted to show the relationship of the book to the present world situation, to the war of national liberation, the comparisons to be drawn with the situation of the American Negro, the condemnation of imperialism, etc. I suggested that the book was significant from this point of view. The professor took my report as a personal attack against himself. He was insulted. He would not degrade his class by pointing out the obvious. There was danger of losing one's imagination in following such a narrow approach. He would not play politics in his teaching.

Many professors of literature do not seem to be capable of meeting the needs of the present situation. They lead restricted ivory-tower existences and are not prepared to be the intellectual leaders in dynamic and critical times like these. To many of them the real life is what they find mirrored in literature. Since they do not fully understand how and why times change, they easily accept the ideas of other eras as truth for the present. Thus a professor of philosophy, echoing the ideas of political leaders of the eighteenth century, declared that the French Revolution was a mistake for humanity. He rejoiced that the energy expended in the great religious revival in England in the eighteenth century had helped to avert a similar revolution in that country.

It would seem a difficult task to bring

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NM SPOTLIGHT

Mr. Churchill's Report

OF ALL the interim accountings of foreign policy which he has made in Parliament, Mr. Churchill's most recent one is perhaps most definitive. His concentration on the shape of European affairs to the exclusion of practically all else marks, of course, the British position on a number of problems facing the coalition as a whole. Whether about the Balkans or France or Spain, the Prime Minister spoke candidly, and if some of the attitudes which he expressed are not satisfactory to all forward looking people, it should also be borne in mind that they are not final or unalterable. One may attempt to appraise Mr. Churchill's remarks by drawing up a balance sheet in which the positive features are placed alongside the negative. That kind of political bookkeeping presumes a static state of affairs with the assets cancelled out by the debits. A more realistic estimate is to see that nothing is static, including Mr. Churchill's opinions, and that those opinions are in a constant process of change forced by necessity and shifting circumstance. Mr. Churchill has in the past taken a position which was widely criticized and relinquished it when it was no longer tenable. Italy is one example; Yugoslavia another; Poland a third. In the precept of keeping all eyes focused on the enemy, in the admonition that nothing be done that will hurt our military enterprise, in the reiteration that the Anglo-Soviet treaty is a cornerstone of British policy, and that the "will of the people" is preferable to any particularist ideology, Mr. Churchill has enunciated principles that are certain to prevail in time over his own prejudices, including that on Spain. The common interests of the leading Allies, as stated at Teheran, and the need to find solutions that are neither partisan nor exclusive, are determinants which have already produced profitable results for the entire coalition. They will continue to do so in the future.

In his speech Mr. Churchill made no reference to Teheran. But Teheran's guidance is apparent when he says that "Consultations always are proceeding between the three great powers and others and every effort is being made to explore the future to resolve difficulties and to obtain the greatest measure of common agreement." By joint agreement one deadlock after another has been broken. In heartily greeting the Italian government, Mr. Churchill does a graceful *volte face* from his past opposition to the six-party coalition. He again underscores his confidence in Marshal Tito, reaffirming the view that his heroic struggle against the Germans is sufficient reason for Allied assistance to the Liberation Army. It is hardly a secret that the head of Tito's military mission in London, General Velebit, has placed before British authorities documentary evidence that the Yugoslav minister of finance as well as Mikhailovich was guilty of complicity with the enemy. While the Prime Minister does not say that the solution of the recurrent crises in the government-in-exile is possible only on the basis of its accommodation to Tito's regime, that conclusion is more and more inevitable.

As for Greece, Mr. Churchill welcomes the new unity developments. His chronicling of events there, however, is not entirely in conformity with the facts. His outburst against the EAM is unwarranted because of all the resistance forces in that beleaguered country the EAM has been singularly devoted to the creation of a democratic and representative government in Cairo. Greece is a British blind spot, but it would seem that Mr. Churchill is reducing it so that his own vision encompasses something more than mere support for the king and his courtiers. On Poland, Mr. Churchill did not say anything essentially different from what he has said on other occasions. Obviously he hopes for a reconciliation between the London government and the Soviet Union. But the Sosnkowski menage has not given an iota of hope that it intends to alter its anti-Soviet behavior. What remains to be done is the establishment of a new Polish government. And on France, Mr. Churchill said nothing that has not been presented before as an argument in behalf of non-recognition. To continue pursuing such a policy for the ostensible reason that no one knows whether the Algiers government is the choice of France contradicts what is self-evident from the character of the French Committee. The testimony is overwhelming that Algiers has the respect and authority of the key patriotic forces in the motherland and recognition on the model of the agreements recently concluded between Washington and London and Norway, Belgium, and Holland is imperative. This step will be of immeasurable aid to Allied troops when they enter France.

It is on Spain that Mr. Churchill has lost his sense of proportion. His "kindly words" have shocked millions throughout the democratic community. Latent in Mr. Churchill's theory of non-interference in fascist Spain is the idea that the Franco regime is lawfully founded. Franco's is an illegal government, and for a confirmed legitimist such as Mr. Churchill to contend in effect that the Madrid junta is legal is to accept an authority installed by Hitler and Mussolini against the will of the Spanish people. The not too startling truth is that Franco is totally untrustworthy and whatever concessions he has made were wrung from him by the force of Allied military successes. They were not acts of generosity; they were not acts growing out of sympathy for the United Nations' cause. They were acts compelled by a haunting fear of what might happen inside Spain if Franco openly joined the Hitlerites. And so long as the Franco regime can sustain itself, then so long will the Nazis have an outpost in Europe for all their scheming. And so long as that regime remains, the coalition as a whole is menaced from the rear by espionage, Falangist conspiracies, contraband sent to Nazi war plants and the instability which the existence of a fascist Spain creates.

Spain is an area where each of the Allies has acted independently. It is hard to believe that had there been close consultation by the three powers Mr. Churchill would have had such generous thoughts about Madrid. Here is one problem demanding joint attention, and American initiative is important in order to avoid the Spanish issue's becoming a source of disillusionment among our Latin American friends. Mr. Churchill fell hard for his Spanish ambassador's poppycock. The sole consolation is that time and events will change his mind as they have done so often before.

China's Crisis

FOR the first time in over three years there is hope of improvement in the Chinese political situation. For the last year that situation, under the provocation of a small clique of fascist-minded feudal bureaucrats in Chungking, has verged upon civil war. The long and heroic war of the Chinese people and with it the cause of the United Nations in the Pacific have been threatened with disaster. Throughout the anti-fascist world, but particularly in the United States, public opinion is aroused at the open sabotage of the war being carried on from high places in the Chinese government, the army, and the Kuomintang. In recent weeks the crisis has become increasingly acute. The Japanese

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captured the entire length of the railroad leading into Hankow from the north and, while sections have been retaken by Chinese troops, the grave danger remains that the enemy may successfully occupy a vital north-south route essential for further advances. In addition, the Japanese have driven westward along a transverse rail line that penetrates through Loyang to Sian deep into China's northern provinces. While the purpose of this drive is still obscure, it threatens not only to cut China in two parts unable to maintain contact with each other, but also to open an invasion route to the key cities of Chengtu and Chungking.

China is further endangered by the fact that while valiant progress is being made to reopen the Burma Road, there is no prospect of substantial aid reaching the Chinese armies from the outside for many months to come. Thus China is forced to rely mainly upon its own resources. These have deteriorated seriously and along with that deterioration national unity has been gravely threatened. Without unity there is little hope for a successful grappling with the problems of inflation, of medical supplies, of food and equipment for the armed forces, of a coordinated defense.

It was under these circumstances that preliminary negotiations were recently held in the northern city of Sian between responsible representatives from Chungking and the Border Region Government. They were apparently sufficiently successful to warrant more formal negotiations in Chungking. These are now under way. The Communist representative, Lin Tsu-han, chairman of the Border Region, has also conferred directly with Generalissimo Chiang Kai-shek. Added to this encouraging development is the fact that after many months of petitioning, a party of foreign correspondents is finally on its way to the Communist capital, Yenan, for a first-hand survey of conditions which Chungking has so rigorously suppressed. It is therefore to be hoped that upon his arrival in China, Vice President Wallace will find a more friendly political scene in which to

Meeting the Challenge of the Postwar

THE war has evoked a new sense of the importance of the professions and of the white collar fields. The scientist, the doctor, the lawyer, the social worker, the teacher, the office worker have been given new responsibilities and brought more directly into the center of social and political problems than ever before. And as the war nears its climax, the attention of the nation's professional and white collar workers is more and more being directed toward the challenge of the postwar world.

It is for the purpose of helping to meet this challenge and achieving some common criteria of thought and action that the National Wartime Conference, organized a year ago, meets again at the Hotel Commodore, New York, Friday and Saturday, June 2 and 3. More than fifty experts in government, business, labor, the sciences, professions, and white collar fields are participating in this conference. Panel discussions have been arranged on such subjects as "Standards of Living," with Senator Claude Pepper as chairman; "International Collaboration of the Professions in the Postwar World," chaired by Senator Harley M. Kilgore; "Planning for Full Employment," with Dr. Alvin H. Hansen, economist of the Federal Reserve Board, as chairman; and "Postwar Readjustment and Retraining of the Professions," chaired by Dr. Eveline M. Burns, economist of the National Planning Association.

The representative character of the National Wartime Conference is indicated by the fact that more than seventy-five national organizations are participating. Among them are: American Association for Adult Education, American Association for the Advancement of Science, American Association for Health, Physical Education, and Recreation, American Association of Schools of Social Work, American Association of Social Workers, American Association of University Women, American Association of Scientific Workers, American Dental Association, American Home Economics Association, American Library Association, American Medical Association, American-Soviet Medical Society, American Psychological Association, Artists League of America, Child Study Association of America, Committee of Jewish Writers, Artists, and Scientists, Department of Elementary School Principals of the National Education Association, United Office and Professional Workers-CIO, State, County, and Municipal Workers-CIO, United Federal Workers-CIO, Hollywood Writers Mobilization, National Association of Negro and Professional Women's Clubs, National Board of Young Women's Christian Associations, National Association of Deans of Women, National Council of Jewish Women, National Council of Negro Women, National Lawyers Guild, National Vocational Guidance Association, Negro Actors Guild of America, Phi Beta Kappa, Physicians Forum, Poetry Society of America.

Prof. Albert Einstein has eloquently expressed the opportunities that await this gathering in a statement issued to the National Wartime Conference. We quote it in part:

"I consider it important, indeed urgently necessary, for intellectual workers to get together, both to protect their own economic status and also, generally speaking, to secure their influence in the political field.

"On the first-mentioned, the economic side, the working class may serve us as a model: they have succeeded, at least to some extent, in protecting their economic interests. We can learn from them too how this problem can be solved by the method of organization. And also, we can learn from them what is our gravest danger, which we ourselves must seek to avoid: the weakening through inner dissensions, which, when things reach that point, make cooperation difficult and result in quarrels between the constituent groups.

"But again, we can also learn from the workers that limitation to immediate economic aims, to the exclusion of all political goals and effective action, will not suffice either. In this respect, the working classes in this country have only begun their development. . . .

"But intellectual workers should unite, not only in their own interests but also and no less importantly in the interest of society as a whole. For division among intellectuals has been partly to blame for the fact that the special parts and the experience which are the birthright of these groups have so seldom been made available for political aims. . . .

"An outstanding important task for an organization of intellectual workers at the present moment is to fight for the establishment of a supra-national political force as a protection against fresh wars of aggression. . . . In the organization and promotion of enlightenment on this subject, I see the most important service which an organization of intellectual workers can perform at this historic moment."

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convey the greetings of our government, which has indicated its desire to see genuine national unity achieved in China.

Recognition of Bolivia

THERE is considerable newspaper comment regarding the possibility of our recognizing the Villaroel government of Bolivia. Our ambassador to Panama, Avra Warren, has returned to Washington after making a special investigation in Bolivia on behalf of the Secretary of State. The latter and his assistants have made no apparent effort to discourage speculation on the matter of recognition; on the contrary, they themselves have created this atmosphere of expectancy. It looks to us, therefore, as though recognition might be announced any day.

Our thought on the matter is that the focus of our Latin American policy must be to isolate and weaken the Farrell-Peron government in Buenos Aires and we can't afford to be too persnickety in the way we go about it. If it is possible to shatter the fascist bloc by breaking Bolivia away from Argentina, then we do not have to wait for a simon-pure regime in La Paz before taking the step of recognition. Remember that unlike the Munich days in Europe, when doubtful governments were recognized for the express purpose of establishing a fascist bloc against the Soviet Union, Mr. Hull's purpose today, if he does recognize Villaroel, will be to destroy a fascist bloc.

The question hinges on whether there has been sufficient change in La Paz during the last five months to justify the belief that we can wean Villaroel and his associates away from Argentina. If so, the policy of non-recognition until now will have been fully justified for having forced such changes, and recognition will constitute a continuation of policy rather than its reversal. We assume that the State Department has the facts for making fresh decisions. We do know that the most outright fascists have been eliminated from the Bolivian government, that it has refused to send quinine to Argentina for transhipment to the Axis, and that recently it arrested some 200 Axis agents and turned them over to the United States for internment in this country. Those are encouraging signs that La Paz is moving in a different direction from Buenos Aires and indicates that a change may actually have taken place. We are confident that if recognition is accorded it will be based upon as sound an estimate of the situation as can be made.

No Rhyme or Reason

IF EVER booby prizes are distributed for the most irritating performance of the week, we herewith nominate the Department of Justice for the first award. Some of its officials now insist that Inter-Continent News, a New York agency of Universal Press Service organized under Soviet laws but neither owned nor controlled by the Soviet government, label its cables from the USSR as "political propaganda." NEW MASSES, along with other papers and periodicals, is a client of ICN and both its editors and readers have come to appreciate its news items as informative of Soviet wartime life and thought. ICN, for example, has distributed the work of Ilya Ehrenburg, a great Soviet war correspondent recognized throughout the world and a writer whose books are issued by leading American publishers. Rather than submit to the Department of Justice diktat, ICN has discontinued its service, and the American public is definitely the loser. The application of the term "political propaganda" to news from the USSR is symptomatic of minds operating in contradiction to our government's foreign policy and helpful only to those attempting to subvert it. There is no rhyme or reason for it except that certain officials are still wallowing in the nonsense of "Bolshevist menace." We strongly protest this Department of Justice ruling and we know that our readers will join us in asking that it be rescinded immediately.

In 1940 the Rapp-Coudert Committee, which in the three years of its life never found or punished one single fascist, Nazi, anti-Semite, anti-Negro or other fifth columnist in the New York schools it was "investigating" brought charges against Morris U. Schappes, a Communist, which led to his imprisonment on a trumped-up charge of perjury. "He was a 'premature' anti-fascist," PM stated, "and that seems to have been one of the unrecorded indictments against him." Have you urged Governor Thomas E. Dewey at Albany, N. Y., to pardon this foresighted fighter against our country's enemies?

Texas Insurrection

IT WAS inevitable that the strong surge of pro-Roosevelt sentiment sweeping the Democratic Party—and overflowing into the Republican primaries—would not go unchallenged by those who have no use for democracy with a small "d." They have struck in Texas, and it is as ugly a sight as one can find this side of Berlin and Tokyo. A coalition of defeatist Republicans and like-minded Democrats took over the Democratic state convention and hammered down all attempts to keep it within bounds. With the gathering packed as a result of pre-convention chicanery, some six hundred of the thirteen hundred delegates walked out, held their own convention, and elected a full delegation to the Democratic national convention pledged to a fourth term for FDR. There is every indication that this group represents a majority of the Democratic voters of the state.

Behind the anti-Roosevelt coup are a number of figures whose past activities leave no doubt as to their present and future intentions. Among them are E. B. Germany, identified with Harry Woodring's anti-fourth term American Democratic National Committee, which has strong Coughlinite connections; H. R. Cullen, millionaire oil man who has contributed generously to the GOP and who because of his reactionary record was disavowed by Wendell Willkie; Vance Muse, ex-Klansman, now head of the anti-Semitic, anti-Negro Christian American Association, who in 1936 was exposed by the Senate Lobby Investigating Committee as engaged in fomenting race hatred with Liberty League money; Val Sherman, assistant executive director of the Christian American Association; and Sen. W. Lee O'Daniel, anti-Roosevelt defeatist who has been working closely with reactionary Republicans.

It was only natural that a convention dominated by such people and their henchmen not only opposed endorsing the President's reelection, but refused to pledge its delegates to support the Democratic ticket unless the national convention incorporates an anti-Negro plank in its platform and adopts other anti-democratic measures. The objective behind this move is to give the Democratic electors from Texas a free hand to ignore the popular vote, which is certain to be overwhelmingly in favor of the party's candidates, and thereby, should the election prove close, throw the decision into the House of Representatives where the Roosevelt-haters ride high. There is no question, of course, that the Democratic voters of Sam Houston's Texas will be represented at the national convention only if the putschists are rejected and the bonafide delegation, pledged to Roosevelt, is seated.

Battle Against the Axis

SO LONG as the daily press of the country does not treat with real seriousness the Nazi conspiracy which the government is unfolding before a jury in District court here, just so long will the defendants and many of their twenty-two lawyers continue their efforts to obstruct justice. Justice Eicher, possibly in his anxiety to leave no loophole for any reversal on technical grounds should appeals be taken, has let them get away with a lot. However, his few recent fines for contempt of court have had some slight effect in curbing the hoodlum tactics which marked the defense strategy for a time.

Possibly some of the reporters are being infected with the virus dished out by the

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AROUND THE WORLD

EMPIRE AND TEHERAN

London (by wireless).

THE outcome of the conference of Dominions premiers with the British government in London represents a victory for the policies of international cooperation embodied in the Teheran decisions. The communique issued at the end of the conference is necessarily general in its wording and does not attempt to cover all the results reached or questions discussed. But the general conclusion is clear.

In order to judge correctly the significance of the conference it is necessary to examine its scope and the degree to which it was representative. The British Empire, or the Commonwealth and Empire as the official title now has it—to distinguish between the self-governing and non-self-governing portions—covers one-quarter of the earth and includes 530 millions of people, or about one-quarter of the earth's population. Seventy millions of these are constituted by Britain and the white self-governing dominions. The remaining 460 millions, or six-sevenths, are India and the subject colonial empire. The conference directly represented the governments of the white self-governing one-seventh. India was represented by Mr. Leopold Amery, head of the British department for India and Burma, the Maharajah of Kashmir, and Sir Firoz Khan Noon, a member of the Viceroy's council. The latter won fame in September 1942, when asked by a *Daily Herald* interviewer how many Indians support the government of India, by answering "I would say none." The colonial empire was represented by a scion of the British landed aristocracy, Mr. Oliver Stanley.

Despite this limited representative character, the conference in fact dealt with issues and took decisions covering the whole empire—that is, one-quarter of the globe. Hence it has considerable significance for world politics. For immediate purposes the conference was primarily a war conference meeting on the eve of the big offensive. This was its main practical purpose and value. The Dominions, as well as India and the colonies, have all participated in varying degree in the war effort. There was complete unanimity behind the war and behind the aims of the United Nations. The conference thus represented a strengthening of the world democratic front against fascism.

The main controversial issues of the conference turned on postwar prospects. What is to be the future of the British Empire in the world family of democratic nations envisaged by the Teheran decisions? Is the British Empire to constitute a separate international political system pursuing its separate policy under its own governing and policy making authority within the future world system? Is it to constitute a closed economic system on the lines of the old Ottawa and imperial preference policies within the plans for world economic collaboration?

These are the issues which had to be faced. Two schools of thought revealed themselves in the preliminary discussion. One was the Smuts-Halifax school. Field Marshal Smuts, the Prime Minister of South Africa, set the ball rolling by his speech in London last November when he spoke of the danger of Britain in isolation being dwarfed by an unequal partnership with the Soviet colossus and the giant power of the United States, and hence emphasized the necessity of developing the empire and extending it to include western Europe. Lord Halifax, the British ambassador to the United States, carried it a stage further when he launched a bombshell by his speech at Toronto in January of this year in which he said that in order to stand up to the titans represented by the USSR and the United States and China, not Great Britain alone, but the British Commonwealth and Empire must be the fourth power in this group—that is, that there must be some kind of centralized political system of the empire, speaking with one voice.

IN THE House of Commons debate preceding the conference some Tory MP's, as well as some Labor MP's like Emanuel Shinwell, made aggressive speeches along similar lines with a challenging note to the United States and the Soviet Union. But the main body of opinion in the Dominions, especially in Canada, and responsible democratic opinion in Britain recognized the danger of this approach. Mr. Churchill in the Commons debate gave specific warning against proposals for closer empire unity which might militate against the larger loyalty to the Teheran decisions for a world association. While he declared that Britain retained a free hand in relation to imperial preferences, he clearly implied, as Cordell Hull recognized in his subsequent comment, that this was not necessarily a fixed policy, but rather a bargaining weapon which might be modified in relation to a lowering of United States tariffs in the interests of international economic agreements.

Mr. Mackenzie King, the Liberal premier of Canada, was the most outspoken protagonist of the alternative view to the Smuts-Halifax policy. He declared bluntly of Lord Halifax's proposals: "I do not agree with them." And in the Canadian House of Commons last January he went behind the conception expressed by Halifax and Smuts and said that in it "there lurks the idea of inevitable rivalry between the great powers. I maintain that such a conception runs counter to the establishment of effective world security." The Labor premiers of Australia and New Zealand also stood firmly for the Teheran principles of world security with the four-power collaboration of Britain, the United States, the Soviet Union, and China.

Although Mr. Curtin for Australia suggested the possibility of closer empire consultation through more frequent conferences and some possible new machinery such as an empire secretariat, in the outcome it is clear that the internationalist thesis represented most strongly by Mackenzie King has fully triumphed over any isolationist thesis which might endanger Teheran. It has been recognized that there can be only one basis for a single foreign policy of Britain and the Dominions: the basis of fulfillment of the Teheran decisions. No new machinery was established. No hard and fast decisions were taken. Mr.

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Curtin's proposals for an empire secretariat were not followed up.

The official communique at the end of the conference declared for the aim of freedom for all the world, for a world organization to maintain peace and security, and further declared that tyranny and aggression shall be removed or, if need be, struck down wherever they raise their heads. Mackenzie King, addressing the assembled Houses of Parliament, said that "if at the close of hostilities, the strength and unity of the Commonwealth are to be maintained, these ends will be achieved not by policies which are exclusive but by policies which can be shared with other nations." No nation or group of nations, he went on to say, can in isolation ensure its own prosperity. He welcomed the spirit of Mr. Churchill's final declaration at the close of the parliamentary debate preceding the conference that out of the ruins of war there will arise a world structure in which there will be room for all free associations of a special character so long as they are not disloyal to the world cause.

The conference did not officially deal with the question of India, but the point of view, especially of the governments of Australia and New Zealand, has been made clear on the urgency of a settlement in India. And as the London *Observer* wrote on May 14, "the Commonwealth conference cannot end without some friendly discussion of India." It was noted that the release of Ghandi on May 6 took place during the proceedings of the conference. Although only a first step, there are fresh possibilities for a new approach and negotiations to strengthen Indian national unity and prepare the way for a settlement with Britain on the basis of an Indian national government as an ally of the United Nations.

The London conference was a landmark not so much by any positive new decisions as by its firm loyalty to the Teheran decisions. The self-governing peoples of Britain and the Dominions have a great opportunity and responsibility today both in the magnificent effort which they are putting forward in the common cause for victory over fascism and in promoting the fulfillment of the wider aims of international cooperation and the advance of democracy and national freedom among all the peoples in the empire.

R. Palme Dutt.

Battle Against the Axis

(*Continued from page* 18)

defendants. *PM's* coverage is among the best. Yet in a story about Prosecutor Rogge, this newspaper indignantly denied that, as some of the defendants had claimed, he was any "Vyshinsky." (Vyshinsky was the Soviet prosecutor at the trials of the Trotskyite fifth column.) No sir, went on *PM*, Rogge was no A. Mitchell Palmer witch-hunter, not he. This tortured amalgam of anti-Red-baiting and Red-baiting so typical of *PM* produces along with a determination to "keep it funny"—the old city room edict—a generally anemic cast to its stories as a whole. Other newspapers have treated the trial as second-rate news to be buried away in inside pages. It should be noted that Lawrence Dennis, who admitted before the jury he was an authority on fascism, has not been insensitive to the weakness of the press. He chats with some of the liberal reporters and is too smart to indulge in anti-Semitism with them. Instead, he tells them that the government's bill of particulars is like the Protocols of Zion in reverse, and they are impressed with his cleverness, and wonder aloud if the government has such a good case.

In Art Shields' coverage of the trial in the *Daily Worker*, on the other hand, there is a quality of reality that evokes anger in the reader at the insolence of the defendants. That anger ought to be nationwide if the defendants are to be rebuffed in their efforts to make the court into a forum for spreading the Hitler poison, and if the trial is to be understood for what it is: a battle in the war against the Axis.

The Rebel Avery

A senate Judiciary subcommittee's report upholding defiance of the government in wartime and attacking every federal agency involved in the recent temporary seizure of Montgomery Ward's Chicago facilities is an extraordinary example of partisan irresponsibility. Without holding any public hearings, without permitting the agencies or the union involved to testify even in executive session, a two-man majority of the subcommittee—with one member dissenting—brazenly misrepresents the entire episode and challenges the President's power to act in such emergencies. Fortunately, the full Judiciary Committee has decided to hold hearings where it ought to be possible to rescue the truth from the bad mangling it has suffered at the hands of Senators McCarran and Revercomb.

Meanwhile the government has been compelled to take over another Montgomery Ward plant, the Hummer Manufacturing Co. at Springfield, Ill. But this time the press and radio imprecations are missing. To the specious argument that the Hummer company is actually producing for war, while the Chicago division is merely engaged in distribution, Chairman William H. Davis of the War Labor Board has given a fitting reply in testimony before a special House committee investigating the Montgomery Ward situation. He pointed out that if this mail order house, which has 78,000 employes and six hundred establishments, is to be excluded from the WLB's jurisdiction, then 15,500,000 workers in distribution, transportation, service trades, and wholesale and retail services, would be free to strike. The effect on the war effort would obviously be disastrous. Under-secretary of Commerce Wayne C. Taylor also replied to other government critics when he told the committee that Avery had insisted on the use of actual force to evict him and refused to regard the presence of US marshals as sufficient for that purpose.

It is a fact that many businessmen are privately strongly resentful of Avery's antics. But has not the time come to speak out publicly? Over a year ago an industry member of WLB, Harry L. Derby, chairman of the board of the American Cyanamid and Chemical Co., declared that "Montgomery Ward has done the greatest disservice to industry and the private enterprise system of any concern in the United States." Is it not time that the business community took measures to discipline the lawless elements in its ranks? Last week the executive board of the United Automobile Workers-CIO removed fifteen officials of Chrysler Local 490 for calling a wildcat strike in violation of the CIO's no-strike pledge. The UAW executive board has given an example of patriotism and industrial statesmanship that we commend to the attention of the board of directors of the US Steel Corp., which only a few days after Sewell Avery's putsch against the United States government re-elected him a director with a statement affirming their pride in so doing.

Bernard Baruch

The award to Bernard Baruch of the Churchman Medal for 1944 gives us an opportunity to add a word to the salutations which have greeted this distinguished citizen. Mr. Baruch comes from the other side of the tracks, but he has managed to cross them and the people have been the beneficiary of his good counsel in the highest quarters. We have always admired his disdain for diplomatic flumdummery when he speaks his mind. We have liked especially those scenes on a Washington park bench where he has transacted war business and collected the material that was later embodied in his invaluable reports on rubber production and reconversion. Mr. Baruch is representative of that large group of enlightened entrepreneurs who place their country's interests above personal gain. That may sound trite, but it has not always been so and Mr. Baruch has been a steadying influence in the financial community when others insisted on reading their accountants' dispatches instead of the war communiques. His recent gift of over a million dollars for rehabilitating casualties of war and industry by physiotherapy is a benefaction entirely in keeping with his record of service to the country. Long life, Mr. Baruch, in the interest of national unity and an enduring peace.

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READERS' FORUM

Physician's "Statement No. 12"

To New Masses: The letter by Dr. L. C. in the April 3 issue of New Masses calls attention to the very important contribution to the discussion of the Wagner-Murray-Dingell bill which the Committee of Physicians for the Improvement of Medical Care, Inc. has made in the issuance of its *Statement No. 12*. Since the publication of its *Principles and Proposals* in 1937 (which evoked the official damnation of the *Journal of the American Medical Association)*, the Committee of Physicians has been known for its constant efforts toward the achievement of a more equitable system of distribution of medical care. Its present statement (which appeared subsequent to the writing of my article published in the February 22 issue of New Masses) merits some consideration.

Statement No. 12 proposes various "changes which will further the economy and efficiency of the bill and of the services rendered under it." It contains numerous very sound constructive criticisms as well as a few of somewhat more problematical value. It anticipates and attempts to solve certain difficulties which it conceives will arise—such as the question of the remuneration of medical staffs of hospitals. This could probably be worked out quite satisfactorily with the present provisions of the bill through the establishment by the Surgeon General of contractual relations with the various hospitals to provide hospitalization under the insurance system. The Committee of Physicians, however, urges a more precise formulation with regard to this item.

The suggestions concerning more explicit measures for the optimal coordination of outpatient clinics and group practice organizations with the program are noteworthy. The most crucial objection made to the bill as it stands is that it fails to abolish the fee-for-service system altogether, but (to quote my previous article) "in deference to the traditional prejudices . . . compromises by providing that the method of payment in each area be determined by a majority of the local practitioners." This compromise, according to *Statement No. 12*, is "greatly to be deplored." The present fee-for-service system is eulogized by organized medicine as the sole great stimulus of "individual initiative" in disregard of the eminent contributions of research workers, teachers, and many practitioners who are on a salary. In practice this system acts to deter patients from seeking medical attention, often with disastrous results. Under an insurance system this evil would be obviated since patients would not ordinarily have to pay for individual visits.

However, in areas where doctors would elect fee-for-service remuneration in preference to salary or capitation methods it would be to their financial benefit and of no added cost to the patient to encourage as many visits as possible. (The individual fees would come from the general pool of funds.) The Committee of Physicians fears that this would tend to favor unnecessary multiplication of services by physicians. It certainly can be said that the optimal amount of medical attention, including *preventive* as well as therapeutic, can best be determined where the fee-for-service system is eliminated entirely, and the individual visit has no financial significance for either party. The experience of Great Britain and the USSR demonstrates that this is the case whether a nation's economy be capitalist or socialist. *Statement No. 12* presents an even more compelling argument for the abandonment of the fee-for-service system in pointing to the fact that it is inimical to the trend toward group practice, the advantages of which cannot be overemphasized.

In areas where practitioners would select this system, group practice organizations and teaching institutions could presumably continue to function with their own financial arrangements by negotiating contracts with the Surgeon General to furnish care under the insurance system. (*Statement No. 12* ignores this possibility; it must be admitted, however, that an explicit statement covering this point would be desirable.) Sooner or later the simultaneous operation of cooperative groups (as well as the experience in other areas with more workable financial arrangements) would demonstrate that the fee-for-service system is obsolete and incompatible with the fullest application of modern medical science. However, one cannot be confident that the other systems of payment would have as extensive a trial as might be desired in view of the tenacity with which many doctors cling to traditional forms and methods. The whole complex issue could be simplified advantageously by eliminating the fee-for-service system *in toto*.

Senator Wagner has said, "I do not claim this bill is in any sense a perfect instrument; it is offered simply as a basis for legislative study and consideration." This particular concession has certainly not succeeded in "appeasing" the foes of the social ideals which the bill represents. Hence it would be preferable to ignore their fulminations and design the best possible program, even though it implies making a somewhat cleaner break with antiquity.

Meanwhile the attack on the bill in any form whatever is being pressed by the reactionary "National Physicians Committee for the Extension of Medical Care," a name which deliberately mimics that of the progressive Committee of Physicians for the Improvement of Medical Care in order to create confusion. A copy of their trumped-up public opinion poll (described in an editorial in the March 21 issue of New Masses) has been mailed to every doctor in the United States. This group has now published and similarly circulated a pamphlet boasting that through its efforts "for the time being, the passage of the medical provisions of the Wagner-Murray-Dingell bills has become a practical impossibility." Moreover, it is asserted that in the November 1942, elections, the National Physicians Committee had secured the pledge of more than 300 of the 435 Congressmen elected that they were "unalterably opposed to compulsory health insurance." With great pride this circular cites the article published in what it terms "the extreme leftist daily newspaper *PM*" which accused it of being responsible for "the most widely circulated pamphlet ever published in the United States," over "fifteen million copies" of this previous smear leaflet having been distributed. The effrontery of this document reaches a climax in its solicitation of contributions from doctors, which it says "should be deductible from income tax returns." The legality of such a suggestion is certainly open to question.

A group with similar objectives, "the Association of American Physicians and Surgeons," has made its appearance and has been recruiting members at ten dollars a head. Its by-laws provide that "Members who participate in such schemes (as the Wagner-Murray-Dingell bill) for the distribution of their services will be expelled," and that "Members will refuse to associate professionally with nonmembers when more than seventy-five percent of the eligible physicians in any community become members. They will not refer patients to nonmembers. They will not consult with them or serve on the staff of the same hospital with them. . . ." Not content with the results of these nationwide campaigns, the reactionaries are doing their utmost to prevent free discussion of the Wagner-Murray-Dingell bill in individual localities. For example, the bigwigs of the Lorain County (Ohio) Medical Society have tried to intimidate Dr. Lorin E. Kerr, the County Health Commissioner, by threatening to force his resignation or discharge for daring to exercise his right of free speech in advocating the bill. Instances of this sort could be multiplied indefinitely.

This challenge must be met by publicizing widely the basic medical provisions of the Wagner-Murray-Dingell bill. The progressive layman need not be concerned with the intricacies of the administrative details. However, he should be acquainted with the fundamental features of the bill in order to be prepared to defend it against the barrage of gross distortion to which it is being subjected.

Edward Earle Starr.

New York.

From Freda Kirchwey

To New Masses: I have just seen your editorial comment on the American Labor Party in your issue of May 23 and I must ask you to print a brief correction.

You mention my name as one of the members of the Public Affairs Committee recently chosen by the state executive of the party. The announcement of my connection with this committee was made as the result of an error in the office of the American Labor Party. I had agreed to serve on a similar committee if one were formed in connection with the CIO Political Action Committee. The misunderstanding arose from this fact, and I had no opportunity to straighten it out before the announcement was made.

Freda Kirchwey.

New York.

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INDIA'S NEW ANTI-FASCIST CULTURE

By SAMUEL LANGHORNE CHASE and A. S. R. CHARI

ARCHIBALD MACLEISH has said that "There is no greater persuader than art when it is permitted to touch the vital nerves." To the people of India, who, in their years of struggle for liberty have time and again been exposed to external emotional appeals, these words now have special significance. Faced with the onslaught of the Japanese armies, the Indian people are today themselves creating new arts, arts to clarify, to convince, and to unify them in their trials. Based on ancient traditional art forms but concerning themselves with the all-important struggle now facing India, these movements, during the past year, have been mushrooming up throughout the land.

It was inevitable that any new and vital culture must spring from the worker and peasant of India, for the national dilemma has stilled many of India's best known artistic leaders. They have been confused by the appearance of a new relentless enemy at a time when the struggle for independence has not yet been won. They have been unable to give their art direction, to make clear the importance of the anti-fascist struggle or to connect it with the man-made famine which has taken millions of lives, with the need for the release of imprisoned leaders and the formation of a truly national government. Many, instead, have given way to a feeling of helplessness, expressed by saying that to defend India is to perpetuate her slavery, while others have said that defense is possible only if the imperialists surrender power first.

The people in the path of the oncoming Japanese armies have no time or patience for such debate, however. Their task is clear, and already they are forming guerrilla bands in accordance with plans rehearsed for many months. And the songs they sing are their own, and reflect their determination to withstand the fascist invaders. It is no accident that Bengal, Andhra, and Malabar, provinces threatened by the Japanese, have been in the forefront of the new cultural upsurge. This awakening has presented the Indian writers and poets with a most direct challenge. They must face the question asked by the people and by their own inner integrity: can they keep pace with the people, and reflect the thoughts and problems of imperiled India?

The Fourth All-India Progressive Writers' Conference, meeting in Bombay on May 22 last year, pointed this question in concrete terms. S. A. Dange, representing the Marathi language section on the Presidium of the conference, urged those hitherto unable to resolve their inner conflict to find a place in the anti-fascist struggle.

"To those souls in torment and despair, we may ask, are you with the people or against them? It is our duty to give expression," he continued, "through art, to organize through our art, if we are with them and not against them. Bureaucracy or no bureaucracy, our people must live, and it is the task of art to inspire them to do so."

"To the souls in torment we say—if you sit on the fence, with folded hands, if you believe that the victory of the nations led by the Soviet Union is no con-

Activities at the Festival of National Cultures held last summer at Bombay, India. Top row (left to right): 1. Kolattam, the stick play dance of the Telugu-speaking squad from Andhra, on the east coast of India. 2. Kummi, or Women's Dance, of little peasant lads and lasses of Kerala. 3. Old Bengali Muslim peasant's song. He sings: "Allah, send us rain, give us water." Bottom row (same order): 4. The Harijan, or Untouchable's Dance. 5. Ottam Shullal Dance of Kerala. 6. The religious mendicant's dance. This is one of the finest examples of how old art forms are being converted to new anti-fascist methods.

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cern of yours, you are not paving the way for freedom from your national enslaver, you are aiding a worse slavery to take his place; you are aiding not only your annihilation, but the annihilation of all people, all culture. To defend India is our concern; not to save this or that government, but to save ourselves, to save our people, to gain freedom."

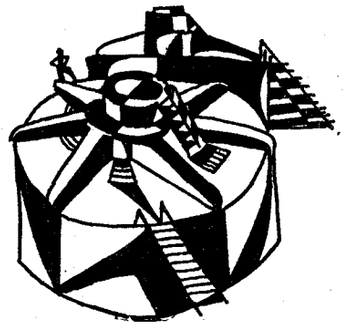
PERHAPS the finest expressions of the new anti-fascist culture were reflected at the historic Festivals of National Culture. These Festivals were held in the Damodar Hall in Bombay last May, on the occasion of the First Congress of the Communist Party of India following its legalization, and again in November, during the celebration of the anniversary of the founding of the Soviet Union.

Never before in the history of India had such functions been organized, and spectators were overwhelmed by the variety of forms, the feast of colors presented, and the potency of their appeal. Over a hundred actors, singers, and dancers participated in the series of cultural offerings at the festivals. Participants came from every part of India, from virtually every class, nationality and language group. Squads traveled hundreds of miles to present their specialties; their members were drawn from the peasantry, the working class, the middle class, and even the *jenmis*—the landlords. Each visiting squad presented its offering in its own language—Telugu, Bengali, Hindi, Malayalam, Punjabi, Urdu, Marathi, Gujerati, etc.—a variety of forms peculiar to each nationality, but all with the same patriotic content.

Of the rich treasure of Indian folk lore, the ballad recitation is the most popular and common in every section of the country. In Maharashtra and in Andhra, in United Provinces and in Kathiawar, the peasants sit for hours listening to the ballad singer who tells of the heroes of antiquity, or of the more modern brave but kind outlaws.

The most remarkable ballad recitations at the Festivals were given by the cultural squad from Andhra. In that province, the popular form of ballad is known as the *burra-katha*, or the story with the goglet drum. The squad consisted of three people: one played the story teller, another a wag, and the third acted as commentator. The balladeer sang his story in rhyme, creating, at the same time, a distinct rhythm with castanets and thambura. The wag skeptically interrupted the balladeer's story with questions calculated to raise all manner of doubts and suspicions, and was answered by the commentator, who amplified what the singer had said, doing away with the confusion caused by the wag's questions.

The Andhra squad had adapted this ancient art form to suit the new realities. Their story dealt with the life of Baburao, a boy from a peasant family, who went to



the town to educate himself and became a patriot. Baburao was jailed, but eventually, as the war developed, he was released and went forth to urge the people to unite and defend their homeland. The ballad began with:

Don't believe, don't believe, the professions of the Japanese.
They enslaved Malaya and Burma, they are attempting to enslave
China, and they are out to enslave us.

The wag, taking the part of a misguided patriot, said that the anti-Japanese talk was pure nonsense, nothing but British propaganda, and that the balladeer must be a British agent. The commentator, taking his cue, broke in to explain how there are good and bad people in all nationalities. Among the British, for example, there have been appeasers who have cooperated with the Japanese in the past. Freedom-loving people, including most Englishmen, and the Indians under the leadership of the Indian National Congress, have consistently opposed the fascists, and supported the Chinese and all other peoples in their struggles against enslavement. The balladeer then sang of what the Japanese have done and are now doing in China, Malaya, and Burma. Rape, murder, and loot are the watchwords of Hitler's and Tojo's fascist armies. Can you, the ballad demands, allow your wife or sister to be outraged, your mother to be molested, your land occupied and ravaged? The wag then must confess that his blind hatred of the British and his ignorance of world affairs led him to doubt the need for organized struggle.

IN ANDHRA today audiences of fifteen and twenty thousand peasants sit for hours on end, listening to this powerful story. The peasant learns for the first time how the invasion peril is tied up with the national crisis, with his burden of taxation and oppression by the landlord and moneylender. While a speech of two hours would tire him, the peasant sits intently while a *katha* of seven hours weaves reality with rhyme, wit with rhythm. He comes away from these recitations with a desire to know more of the world around him, and he is taught in a familiar form about his new duties in the present period.

One of the most remarkable contributions to recent Indian literature is the work of Anna Sathye, a textile worker of Bombay, who proved himself a vital and talented artist in composing a ballad on the epic defense of Stalingrad. It is interesting to note that Sathye is a member of the "depressed class," the Untouchables, that stratum of Indian life which for centuries has been the most socially oppressed of Hindu society.

Sathye has long been recognized as one of the foremost artistic leaders of his people, and his awareness of world events appears in his earlier ballads as well. During the Spanish war he composed an epic ballad on the defense of Madrid.

Sathye's singing of his "Stalingrad Defense" marked the strongest development of the Marathi ballad form known as a *Povada*, the most popular folk form in Maharashtra. It has since been published in Marathi, and preparations are being made for translation into Urdu and the other Indian languages and dialects.

As for the new anti-fascist songs, by far the best come from Bengal, the torchbearer of the Indian renaissance. Music and drama have been the forte of the Bengalis ever since Ram Mohan Roy ushered in a new era. Rich in musical tradition, Bengal has also produced some of the world's best poetry and painting. Today, when Bengal has seen fully a tenth of its sixty millions die within twelve months from a famine created by the profiteers who control the black market, when the marauding Japanese are within striking distance of India's richest province, the youth of towns and cities are banding together with the young peasants for a last ditch fight. New ties of friendship between the urban and rural folk are being cemented in the course of the struggle. Forsaking musical gymnastics, the students from the larger towns have taken to the vital, direct folk tunes of Bengal's peasantry, tunes which pulsate with the dynamic rhythms of a strenuous life of toil.

The Bengal folk songs are simple, with superb melodies and haunting refrains. To this crude ore, Binoy Roy brought his refining touch. He combined cultured voice with forthright verse. A fine example of his craft is his "Guerrilla Song of the Bengal Peasantry," a song which has thrilled thousands of hearers, inspiring them with determined resistance to the Japanese:

Hark, hark, hark, the Japanese are coming to our village.
Come out, you young guerrillas!
Come Rahim, come Rehman, come Jogesh, come Paran!
Come out, Hindus and Muslims all!
Hold your weapons firm—sickle, axe, sword,
Lathis, spikes, javelins, bows and arrows.
Listen, Laxman, listen Fatima, listen aunt and

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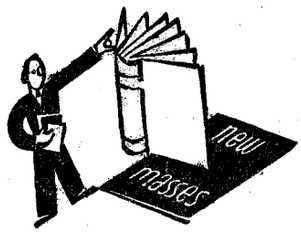

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You, oh bride! Listen, all the women of the village.

Hush, hush, hush, be careful, walk gently
Through the bushes and jungles. The devils
Must not know we are here.
Strike with the axe, dagger and spike!
Strike with the bows and arrows, and with javelins!
Be careful, lest one of them get away.
Inquilab Zindabad! Killed ten enemies:
Got ten rifles in our hands.

Who can resist us now?
Let a hundred Japs come now—we would knock them down
Like jute trees. We are not afraid of bombs and cannons.
Let any bastard come, we will slay him.
We, all the peasants together, will achieve freedom!

All over India, not only in Bengal, hundreds of such songs have this one theme of an awakened people marching forward to defend their motherland, to achieve their certain liberation.

The collective folk dance has flourished throughout the countryside, giving rise, over a period of many years, to a rich tradition. The *Kummi* and *Kolkalli* of Malabar, the *Ras* and *Garba* of Gujerat are typical. And on special festive occasions there are added the religious *Bhajans*, and such dances as the *Holi* and the *Gokul Ashtami* in Maharashtra. From Malabar and Andhra, where the peasants are best organized, come the finest collective dances. The *Bhajan* of the Andhra cultural squad is worthy of mention as typical of the new trend. Instead of the usual prayer, a dirge for dying Hitler is presented, which opens with these lines:

O hoity-toity Hitler!
You expected to smash the workers' and peasants' state;
Now gather your shattered limbs as best you can!

Beginning with slow and measured steps, the dance works up its tempo and ends in an exciting frenzy of movement.

The *Kolkalli*, or stick play dance, and the *Kummi*, or women's dance, performed by peasant girls and boys from Malabar, have shown how these simple traditional steps may be put to a new and potent use. In Kerala, the *Poorakalli* is the militant folk dance, a lineal descendant of a war dance of the Mairs, a warrior caste under the Zamorings, the old rulers of Calicut. An adaptation of ancient harvest dances, it is essentially a peasant dance, powerful and swift in movement, requiring a robust constitution. The song to which the Kerala peasant lads danced the *Poorakalli* had for its theme not the gods of the past, but the problems of the present. It dealt with the national crisis through August 1942, and included important historic events up to Gandhi's fast.

FAR away from India's bustling towns, in her many thousands of villages, there are a few quaint individuals with colorful dress and speech whose antics as soothsayers, religious mendicants and quack doctors attract large audiences. For centuries they have made a living from the faith, innocence, and ignorance of the superstitious element among the peasants. Moving from village to village, aware of events outside the peasants' little world which is bounded by the town limits, they have been the bearers of tidings good and bad, of stories strange and often terrifying. Throughout the generations the peasants have listened to the mendicants, gleaning from them something of a world of which they knew nothing.

Until recently large sections of the peasantry in India had never been touched by social or political movements. They have been awakened for the first time in the remote areas of activities of the Kisan Sabha, or Peasant Congress, which has spread branches of its organization throughout the land. Squads of such peasants attended the Cultural Festivals and brought with them their traditional forms. Nagabhushanam, president of the Kistna district Peasant Congress, and Gopalkrishnyya, a talented young peasant, were leaders in the adaptation of these old forms. They sought especially to utilize the mendicants and medicine men, and even the Harijan village crier, who in the past announced any threat to the village, and even today makes known the births and deaths.

The medicineman of the Andhra countryside is the lineal descendant of the early huntsman. In other days his visits to the jungle and his familiarity with plants and herbs and their medicinal qualities automatically constituted him the village doctor. Later, when newer generations gave up hunting, they found it profitable to retain the role of medicineman, and today they are represented by quacks who imbue the peasants with awe and attempt to inspire faith in their healing powers by the display of weird-looking claws and bones.

Certain sections of the peasantry still cling to their age-old faith in the medicineman. Gopalkrishnyya has therefore brought a new type of medicineman into existence in Andhra. He schools them at an anti-Japanese cultural camp in one of the provincial villages.

Today the medicineman still wears colors on his face, feathers in his turban and carries medicines in his haversack and a bow and arrow on his head, but his songs are of the people's war. He offers pills to exterminate the fascists, and powders to choke the imperialists. National unity is the medicine he gives for the successful defense

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of India, and the attaining of freedom. At the Festivals the medicineman performed the traditional Harijan dance, the dance of the village crier. With tom-tom in hand he called out:

O heroes of Ind, the war of defense of the Motherland is come.
Gird up your loins; the peoples of the world are on your side.

With this as their theme the new artists and writers of India are using their talents to forge a united will of the people, to inspire them with faith in themselves, and to rouse them to a passionate defense of their land which will lead to a world in which their people and culture will have freedom to develop their potentialities to the fullest.

The Problem of Germany

WHAT TO DO WITH GERMANY, *by Louis Nizer, Ziff-Davis. $2.50.*

WHAT SHALL WE DO WITH GERMANY, *by Bernadotte E. Schmitt, Public Policy Pamphlet No. 38, The University of Chicago Press.*

THE NEXT GERMANY, *by a group of Anti-Nazi Germans, Penguin Books. $.25.*

THE DANUBE BASIN AND THE GERMAN ECONOMIC SPHERE, *by Antonin Basch, Columbia University Press. $3.50.*

ALL these books have one idea in common: National Socialism and German imperialism must be rooted out and such measures taken as will render impossible the rebirth of a German imperialism bent on new aggressions. That is their positive element, particularly at a time when reactionaries, pro-Nazis, and "loyal" Socialists hiding behind the mask of "defense of the Atlantic Charter" advocate a compromise with German imperialism.

In the first two works, especially Mr. Nizer's, the authors propose that the following measures be taken by the United Nations against Germany after the victory over Nazism: occupation of Germany and no restoration of German sovereignty until it is absolutely certain that Germany has ceased to be a menace to other nations; punishment of the war criminals and extermination of the Nazi upper crust; military and economic disarmament; reparations in the form of money, goods, and work battalions to rebuild the devastated areas. Mr. Nizer also emphasizes the reeducation of Germany with United Nations guidance and collaboration.

The anonymous authors of *The Next Germany* outline a program for a German socialist revolution and analyze in detail the need for collaboration between the United Nations and the democratic forces in Germany, especially with the driving force in that movement, the German working class.

The author of *The Danube Basin and the German Economic Sphere,* Antonin Basch, deals with a "more limited" theme. Using a wealth of statistical data, he shows how the countries in the Danube Basin—Czechoslovakia, Austria, Hungary, Yugoslavia, Bulgaria, and Rumania—were subjected to systematic German economic penetration before the first as well as the second world war, until, under Hitler, they became colonies of aggressive German imperialism. The author correctly sees, as one of the chief problems of postwar reconstruction in Europe, the liberation of these countries from German economic domination.

The weaknesses of Mr. Nizer's and Professor Schmitt's books are most in evidence when they look for an interpretation of National Socialism in German history. Here both authors display an unscientific, unhistorical, and dilletante approach. Mr. Nizer is the worst offender. He swallows whole the Nazi conception of history according to which all human development from the ape to Hitler has been nothing but the logical unfolding of National Socialism, disturbed and distorted at times by such "un-German" elements as the Marxists, and other foreign influences. Even if the Germans had been angels in their past history, they would have to pay heavily for what they have committed under Nazism. So in assessing this price there is no need to falsify German history. When Nizer, for example, quotes Tacitus and Caesar to confirm the innate barbarism of the German people, he is on the same level as apologists of imperialism justifying attacks on primitive peoples. When Nizer represents Hegel, the greatest encyclopedic mind of German philosophy and of bourgeois philosophy in general, as a Pan-German and forerunner of the Nazis, that is in essence the same as holding the thinkers of the French Revolution of 1789 responsible for French imperialism and the corrupt, decadent French bourgeoisie of our time. Mr. Nizer does not understand that the efforts of the Germans and their ideological leaders to forge a German national state were objectively no less progressive than the nationalist movements in other countries. The German tragedy was, of course, that they built this national state much later than the French, English, and Americans, and that it arose not out of a democratic revolution but under the leadership of the reactionary classes—under Bismarck's leadership.

IF NIZER were sent to Germany to reeducate the German people, he would only do harm. For the Germans will not be reeducated until they understand their history; when they understand that the tragedy of the German nation lay in the fact that the reactionaries triumphed, and not the heroic and self-sacrificing liberation movement of the German people; and that the fight for freedom was betrayed by cowardice and compromise with the reactionaries. Since Mr. Nizer has

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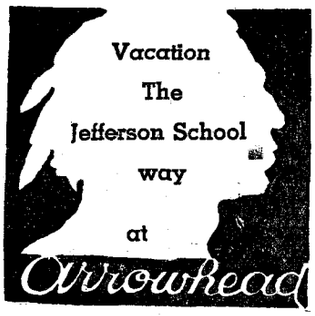

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Mickey Horowitz, Mgr.

neither a conception of German history nor a method for correctly evaluating it, he ignores the possibilities of self-regeneration by the German people themselves after defeat in the present war. He overlooks the vital problem of United Nations cooperation with the genuinely democratic forces inside Germany, especially the German workers. So in the measures he proposes he leaves obscure the question of what is to happen to the key elements of German imperialism: the monopoly capitalists, big industrialists and financiers. Without destroying these pivotal representatives of German imperialism there will be no destruction of German imperialism and no reeducation of the German people. Thousands of professors from every country and hundreds of Allied commissions will not reeducate this social stratum. They are historically incapable of reeducation—they must be exterminated or they will proceed to new aggressions in the future.

The anonymous authors of *The Next Germany*, describing themselves as German Socialists, avoid the central weaknesses of Nizer's book. They point out correctly that in German history there have also been stirring fights for freedom, and above all that the German working class is historically the most progressive class in the country, despite its present impotence and widespread demoralization. The authors are also on logical ground when they show that without completely destroying the social basis of Nazism no guarantees can be had against new imperialist aggressions by Germany. They advocate a socialist Germany and make a plea for the cooperation of the United Nations with the democratic forces in Germany, especially the working class, in building a new democratic and socialist Germany.

The weakness of this book lies principally in the fact that the authors have not made any real effort to demonstrate what factors led to the victory of Nazism. To explain, on the one hand, how strong the anti-Hitler movement was, and on the other, not to explain how this apparently strong opposition movement was overwhelmed by the Nazis, *leaves open a vital gap*. A book written by "German Socialists" who in the midst of this war elaborate a program for a socialist Germany while millions of Germans are still participating in the war, and who do not even make an attempt at earnest self-criticism, cannot be taken seriously. For it is not enough to assert that there was a powerful anti-Hitler movement without giving the reasons why it was defeated. The necessary lessons must be learned in order that German history will not everlastingly be a story of defeat at the hands of the reactionaries. And when the Germans are defeated by the forces of reaction, not only they but the whole world has to pay the price.

Similarly, the problem of relations between the Socialist and Communist workers does not exist for these anonymous authors. They would like to wish it away by simply ignoring its existence. But as the examples of Italy, France, Yugoslavia, Greece, and Czechoslovakia prove, this problem exists everywhere; and it will exist in Germany after Hitlerism is crushed. To ignore the problem and at the same time speak of socialism is frivolous phrasemongering. The anonymous writers also underestimate or overlook the fact that millions of Germans, among them considerable sections of the working class, have turned into barbarians. This problem in all its significance is simply not acknowledged in this book; hence Germans are prepared to leap headlong from Nazi barbarism to socialism. But the authors become most equivocal when they speak of the need for a unified Europe and "the European community of interests." This Europe which the anonymous Socialists intend to construct is a Europe—without the Soviet Union!

This stand is more easily explained when one realizes that this book, which first appeared in England, is the counterpart of the book written in the United States by Paul Hagen—*What To Do with Germany*. The authors belong to the group around Paul Hagen called "New Beginning." For a long time they have sought to convince the world that the only anti-Nazi workers in Germany are adherents of their group. Labelling themselves the decisive force in the German anti-Nazi movement, they proceed in their book to "liquidate" systematically the German Communists. With respect to the Soviet Union Paul Hagen, writing in this country, expresses himself more clearly than the anonymous Socialists writing in England. In the United States, where it is still quite profitable to show one's "independence of Moscow" as a "German Socialist," people like Hagen warn of the "danger" that the Soviet Union might in some way be able to "influence" Germany. They hope for a future Germany which will continue to be the rallying center for the enemies of the Soviet Union.

HANS BERGER.

Geopolitical Fallacies

THE GEOGRAPHY OF THE PEACE, *by Nicholas John Spykman, Harcourt, Brace, $2.75.*

THE late Professor Spykman of Yale University was one of the foremost exponents of geopolitics in America. His previous volume, *America's Strategy in World Politics*, provoked sharp controversy because of its starkly imperialist implications and conclusions. The present work, published after his death, is a continuation and at the same time a partial revision of his previously elaborated point of view. Thus, Professor Spykman takes

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pains to dissociate himself from the German school of geopolitics as represented by General Haushofer, with its justification of Nazi "master race" imperialism. Spykman finds that the United States must collaborate with Great Britain and the Soviet Union and, in Asia, with China, in order to assure its future peace and security. Even geopoliticians, it seems, who are supposed to deal with such constants as geographic location, climate, topography, and raw material resources have learned some valuable lessons in the course of the present world conflict.

No one will take issue with Spykman and his fellow-geopoliticians when they stress the importance of geography in understanding world affairs. The present global war has dramatized geography, making millions of Americans conscious of the role of maps and map-reading. But it is when the geopoliticians depart from their purely factual data to elaborate pretentious theories in a jargon peculiarly their own that they are on highly questionable ground. So when Professor Spykman writes: "The foreign policy of a state must be examined, then, primarily in terms of the location of that state in the world," his thesis is immediately open to challenge.

For herein lies the basic fallacy of the geopolitical argument. With its constant emphasis on "heartland" and "rimlands" it sets up geographic location as a kind of categorical imperative which determines the foreign policy of any given nation. The political, social, and economic forces *within* any given country are either glossed over or omitted entirely. This is geographic determinism with a vengeance—and it is no accident that in the hands of German and Japanese geopoliticians such pseudo-scientific concepts have been avidly exploited by the dominant fascist groups.

Even in Spykman's volume, where there is much talk of land masses, power centers, and constellations of power, nations are treated as victims of geography, with little or no concern for the democratic or anti-democratic features of their foreign policy. But such an analysis is like playing Shakespeare's *Hamlet* without the Prince.

Let us, by all means, have wider and more thoroughgoing study of the geographical relations of states, as Spykman urges. But let us not fall into the dangerous trap of accepting geopolitics as the be-all and end-all of international relations. This kind of approach is dangerous and constitutes the geography of future war, not peace.

HENRY BERGEN.

Not Quite

FROSSIA, *by E. M. Almedingen. Harcourt, Brace. $2.50.*

"FROSSIA" is described in the publisher's blurb as "real" and "honest" and by a London reviewer as "a novel in the great Russian tradition," and it's quite what that would lead you to expect. It has to do with the daughter of a court-connected bourgeois family who refuses to shoot herself with the rest of the family when they see their world crumbling, and returns to Leningrad to see what will happen next. There, during the civil war and immediately post-civil war years, while keeping herself alive with small typing and teaching jobs, she encounters a whole zoo full of characters: simple souls of great kindness and no politics; grasping daughters of old friends, who are being utterly debauched by racketeering minor commissars; completely futile aging Czarist relics; the abrupt, unlettered, always over-theoretical Party members; a beautiful young poet who never writes anything, whom, for some unknown reason, Frossia maintains in her apartment for months; an insane old madam, whose "house" (oh irony!) is in Frossia's old family mansion; religious fanatics; and lots more.

Frossia throughout is presented as a fairly intelligent, apparently likable girl, who would like to do something constructive but was never trained to, and doesn't know what everyone else is trying to construct anyway. One gathers that she is supposed to symbolize the beautiful soul of "Russia," which believes in "life" and will rise triumphant over such minor matters as those Bolsheviks.

While in many respects this is a remarkably silly book, it would be a mistake merely to ignore it. Curiosity about our Soviet ally is generally very great and may lead a number of people to buy the novel. And it is as subtle a piece of Red-baiting as has appeared in fiction for quite a time. There is first of all the thesis that "Russia" is an entity apart from the Soviet Union, with the strong implication that "Russia" resides in the hearts of those who misunderstood and opposed the Revolution. It lends support to the idea, industriously spread a year ago, that it was the spirit of some mysterious "Russia," not the Red Army, that was responsible for Stalingrad. In the entire book there are perhaps two sympathetic Communists—and both of them are shown as rather uninfluential because they are too humane for their cruel masters.

As I mentioned before, the Czarist misfits are presented with the loving care of Dickens describing the death of Little Nell. And in depicting Frossia's physical surroundings, page by page, chapter by chapter, the author exploits to the last unobtainable spool of thread the shortage of consumer goods that was the result of war, revolution and civil war—not to show the spirit and hope of a people who could plan an electrification program when there was not enough bread, but to give Frossia and the zoo a chance to be "brave" over all they had to put up with.

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BALLET ROUND-UP

By FRANCIS STEUBEN

IT NEVER happened before in America that two ballet companies, one at the Metropolitan, the other at a theater equally as large, played to standees night after night for a month. The audiences weren't only enthusiastic; they were fiercely partisan, and enough flowers were deposited before flushed and excited ballerinas in each theater to reach from here to Leningrad's Marinsky.

In a way this fanfare was to be expected. Each company boasted its own roster of top-flight dancers: Markova, Kaye, Gollner, Dolin, Eglevsky of the Ballet Russe, Danilova, Franklin, Starbuck, Youskevitch of the Ballet Theater. Each had its own repertoire of tried and true ballets. And each had its own premieres. The Ballet Russe de Monte Carlo at the City Center Theater presented Schwęzoff's redoing of the old Soviet ballet "Red Poppy"; two Nijinska works, "Etude" and "Ancient Russia," and Pilar Lopez' inconsequential "The Cuckold's Fair." The Ballet Theater gave us Agnes de Mille's "Tally Ho" and a little gem of a masterpiece, Jerome Robbins' "Fancy Free."

By this time it's no news to say that "Fancy Free" scored the greatest success and that it richly deserved it. As American as ham and eggs, as indigenous to the sidewalks of a big city as clover is to a pasture; as colloquial as chewing gum and as full of the stuff and feel and texture of the American vernacular as jive, "Fancy Free" is genre ballet for your next-door neighbor, as well as your balletomane.

Only a young American could do it—someone who loves the way we talk and walk and dance and kid around. The story? Just a trio of gobs on shore leave and two girls on the make. But with what wit, and good humor, and talent it has been projected! With what brilliant dancing and inimitable breeziness the sailors (Harold Lang, John Kriza, and Robbins himself) drink beer and flirt and show off and fight and make up.

The music, written by Louis Bernstein, is just a trifle too brash and and impudent, but the entire work moves along with the greatest of ease. Jerome Robbins, the youthful choreographer, deserves his honors, not only because he gives ample evidence that he knows his craft; but also because he has proved that there is as much creative material for ballets in the corner drug store or bar-and-grill as others have been digging up in gypsy camps and fairs at Sorochinsk.

And now, if Robbins doesn't get swallowed up by all kinds of offers to do the same thing over again from Broadway and Hollywood, it would be good to see what new aspects of Americana this talented young American will treat in his second work.

"Tally Ho," by Agnes de Mille, superimposes upon the lyrical, exquisitely pure music of Gluck a lusty bucolic fable about the eager but frustrated wife of a bookish genius who finally breaks down her husband's reserve—after taking it on the chin from a sly codger and some "ladies who are no better than they should be." Despite Miss de Mille's unquestionable facility in handling her material, the violence done to the spirit of the music was especially irksome. It's a little irritating to watch a couple of ribald courtiers tickling the bosoms of Ladies Fair while the orchestra plays some of the most delicate of Gluck's arias.

Anyone who has read the original libretto for "Red Poppy" (which was long ago dropped from the Soviet ballet repertoire) will agree that Igor Schwezoff has done as good a job as possible in rewriting the story and giving it a contemporary twist. "Red Poppy" tells of the love of a Russian sailor for the Chinese dancer Tai Hoa, and how his British and American friends help him rescue her from the sinister Japanese inn-keeper. The contrived libretto produced only a couple of fine incidental dances: the Russian sailor dance led by Frederic Franklin, the Ribbon Dance by Igor Youskevitch and the number by Ruthanna Boris as the "Dancer on the Golden Platter."

Bronislava Nijinska is undoubtedly one of the most gifted of the classic choreographers; "Les Noces" is a great ballet too seldom performed. But while "Etude," when it was originally presented in Paris in 1924, might have seemed advanced in its use of Bach, abstract design, and its asexual costuming, today it is awfully naive. The faster it's dropped from the repertoire, the better. "Ancient Russia," too, achieves very little either as novelty or as folk ballet. With Tschaikovsky's Piano Concerto as musical background, blonde Russian beauties, held captive by Tartar chieftains, are won back by their Russian lovers. Modeled somewhat along the lines of the Polovtsian dances from "Prince Igor," it achieves none of the latter's originality or theatrical excitement.

On the whole, the Ballet Theater certainly had the edge on the Ballet Russe. The City Center Theater venture, with

Courtesy Associated American Artists

"Dockworkers," by Moses Soyer.

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A Declaration of Principles

FOR some years thousands of thinking Americans have tried to do away with Jim Crow in all its forms. The knowledge that it has no place in our lives has been deepened by the war—has been extended to the immediate realization that unless every evidence of such prejudice is wiped out now, we will not achieve as a nation that unity so necessary to victory.

Aware of the powerful mediums through which they speak and their influence on nationwide public opinion, members of the Entertainment Industry Emergency Committee recently reaffirmed their responsibility toward the solution of Jim Crow and race violence. A stirring Declaration of Principles, adopted by 500 stage, radio, and film performers and artists, calls upon the entertainment industry to initiate a program "of treating the Negro problem in full truth with full seriousness." The Declaration, written by Maxwell Anderson, Lillian Hellman, and Peter Lyon, speaks clearly for itself—its main points follow:

". . . That the writer of books, plays, radio scripts, motion pictures, short stories, and comic strips cease telling the pre-Civil War lies about the Negro. Negroes are not happy-go-lucky lazy illiterates . . . jazz-crazed Aunt Jemimas or Uncle Toms who at their worst are villains and at their best slavish admirers of their white 'superiors.' We wish these dangerous vilifications to stop forever. . . ."

"We ask the theater, radio, dance bands, night clubs and symphony orchestras to insist that discrimination against the Negro artist, musician, and other performers cease. . . ."

"We ask that the moving picture industry, the director, the writer, the actor, the technician, and, above all, the producing company . . . find a solution for the prejudices of southern customers . . . and southern theater owners. . . . The decent southerner, who has always been ashamed of the savage and vulgar prejudices of the South, must come to the aid of the moving picture industry, and come quickly. . . ."

It is essential that all branches of the entertainment industry recognize the validity and immediate necessity of such a program, and make every possible attempt to see that its provisions become a reality. It can be achieved —together with the active help of readers, movie-goers, and radio listeners.

its popular-priced policy, performed a noteworthy service in enabling vast new audiences to see ballet for the first time. But it did them an injustice by not presenting ballet at its best. The orchestra was ragged; the principals overworked; and the Center Theater stage graceless and restricted. What prevailed at many of the performances was sheer sloppiness.

It is safe to conclude, however, that despite this, the City Center has won over masses of new ballet lovers.

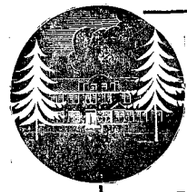
Films of the Week

IF YOU would like to see a large mess of British snobbery, go see *The White Cliffs of Dover*, MGM's new "muddle-through" war effort at the Music Hall. It has been universally compared to *Mrs. Miniver*, but it no more resembles the latter than Greer Garson resembles Irene Dunne. *Miniver*, for all its limited approach to the issues of the war, indicated at least that it was aware of them. *White Cliffs* is not.

The plot is a thinly disguised Trojan horse from which emerge the bully boys of the British caste system. An American girl marries a British baronet who is the spirit of England. In fact, she breathlessly calls him England. When upon her arrival she yearns for home, he persuades her to stay so she can really learn the country. Does he show her London, or Birmingham, or the people in their manifold occupations? Too plebian. He whisks her away to the ancestral estates in Devon, where she gets a first hand dose of the schooltie spirit from the stiffnecked inmates.

Lest you think that I am exaggerating the *haute monde* posturing, let me record one little incident that sets the tone for the film. Early in the courtship, before our girl really knows what a fine haul she is about to make, she confides that she finds the British veneration for titles a little foolish. This is the cue for England to confess that he is of the peerage. I am *Sir* John Ashwood, says he. Sir John, swoons our gal, and melts into his aristocratic frame.

The film spans the two world wars. Sir John gets killed in the first, and his son



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dies from wounds received in the Dieppe raid. The film displays as little understanding of the first world war as it does of the second. In fact the war in each case is merely background for the characters' personal emotional adventures. All incidents are supposed to show that America and England are one, that England is the spiritual heritage of America, and that a Yank, however seemingly lonely in a vast landed estate, is really at home. All I can say is that if the makers of this picture really think so, they will never prove it by having the hoi polloi collapse with ecstacy every time it rubs elbows with one of the gentry, or by having the film wear a "What—you haven't been presented at Court?" face.

P.S. One British sailor said to another on his way out of the Music Hall, "If we want to keep the cliffs of Dover really white, we'll have to clean all that muck off, directly we get home."

"GASLIGHT" (Capitol) is the movie version of *Angel Street*, a play that has been on Broadway for three years. As the story of a man intent upon driving his wife mad, it is better than the average chiller. It makes more of its characters and their relations to one another than does the stage play, but for a number of reasons, it loses a lot of the suspense in its transfer to the screen. To begin with, there are too many closeups of Boyer's liquid brown eyes. He is a heel and a torturer, but he never frightens anyone. Again, much of the original suspense is based on the fact that you never know when he's going to creep on you out of the dark. In the film, you know where he is every minute of the time.

As the wife who thinks she is going out of her mind, Ingrid Bergman works a little too hard and goes into too many zombie trances, but as a Bergman fan, I'm not complaining. Joseph Cotten is a little too slim and light on his feet for the traditional Scotland Yard operative, but somebody with his looks has to be around for the love interest that ends the picture.

Gaslight will not raise your hackles like *The Uninvited*, with which it has been compared, but it is a far, far better picture.

I HEREBY apologize for having neglected to see *The Curse of the Cat People* when it was first released. But like thousands of others I was completely taken in by the abysmally inaccurate title, and by the fact that it was introduced at that house of horrors, the Rialto Theater. Billing it as a chiller directly related to the second-rate *Cat People*, the producers probably reduced its potential audience by half. I can't for the life of me understand why RKO should have presented the film under such discouraging auspices.

As it turns out, it is a charming study of a lonely child and the imaginative world

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she creates. Her ghosts and goblins are real, and if her parents cannot understand them, so much the worse for the parents. Happily, her teacher and mother treat her myths with understanding, and her need of them with tact and intelligence. Only her father will have none of it, and his shortsightedness creates the basis for the mood of the picture.

The film recalls Robert Louis Stevenson, and at one point the teacher quotes from the *Child Garden of Verses* to prove to the father how unsound is his treatment of the child. The actions of Anne Carter, the child, evoke an immediate parallel, of course, to Barnaby and Mr. O'Malley.

Simone Simone, who was the protagonist of the cat world in the earlier picture, plays a couple of parts in this one, just so the title shouldn't be a total loss, I suppose.

JOSEPH FOSTER.

No Ivory Towers

(*Continued from page* 15)

about the sweeping changes necessary to making the teaching of literature valuable to the war effort. Many professors will oppose any change. Their work is comparatively simple now. It does not require creative thinking. True, they must read extensively and know many books of criticism. But notes can be used over and over again. The obvious and useless can be investigated year after year. The literary problems can always fill time. And the stultification of their teaching goes on.

But the very fact that there is growing dissatisfaction in graduate schools is a healthy sign and presages basic changes in the approach to traditional subject matter. The headlines in the newspapers are driving everyone, including the professors and the students, to take stock of activities and attitudes. Already many liberal instructors recognize their responsibility. Wide awake students quickly discover which professors are dynamic in their teaching and they prod the laggards.

The decisiveness of our times is obvious and the necessity for adaptation of academic subject matter to the contemporary situation is undeniable. Everyone in the university needs to realize this. The inertia of routine and drag of custom and tradition must be brought to an end with frank discussion and well-directed criticism.

Mr. Porter is a graduate student at a large eastern university. He discusses problems about which there are differences among progressives themselves. NEW MASSES *would welcome comment from readers, especially from students and teachers.*

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